

New Republic



FEBRUARY 14, 1949

THE NORTH ATLANTIC PACT

★ ***CAN EUROPE BE DEFENDED?***

By CAPT. B. H. LIDDELL HART

★ ***WILL THE PACT HELP PEACE?***

EDITORIAL

FRENCH LABOR AND COMMUNISM

THE RUHR: WHOSE ARSENAL?

15¢

MODERN CAPITALISM

and the *New Republic*

SOME Americans defend the label of capitalism.

Others defend the label of socialism.

But the genius of America is that we do not live by labels. We place values before institutions. We rely on performance rather than doctrine. We develop our economy according to our needs.

The American way of life, as we see it, is not capitalism. It is democracy: a determination that this country shall be run for the welfare of its citizens. If industry can best produce automobiles, then we turn to industry. If government can best develop our power resources, then we turn to government. We are more than capitalist today. And we will be less than socialist tomorrow.

Our Weakness . . .

. . . is our *instability*. Industrialists know as well as anyone that we are not foolproof today against another major depression. They know that another depression would be a disaster for Americans and all free peoples.

A second weakness is our *lack of balance*. Purchasing power is the basis of our prosperity. Today a third of our families have exhausted their last savings—and General Motors is making profits of 30 percent on its net worth after payment of all taxes.

A third weakness is the *inability of our economy to meet basic human needs*.

Modern man needs a home for his family at a rent he can afford. He needs proper social security and medical care. Private enterprise cannot make a profit out of these needs. And so it fails to meet them. They must be met.

A fourth weakness is the *concentration of economic power in private hands*. Our democracy is threatened when one company, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, has a greater income than 19 states. Our economy is threatened when

a handful of steel companies can decide whether we will have enough steel to meet our needs, to rearm America, to help Europe recover, and to keep our workers employed, particularly since the decisions of private industry are often wrong.

In Wartime . . .

. . . industry refused to build enough capacity to win the war and government had to step in. After the war industry gambled that prices would fall if controls were lifted—it was wrong again. Now the steel industry is banking on another depression. It is refusing to build new capacity, so it is bringing depression closer.

Today we have sworn to abolish depressions in America. We have recognized that every man has the right to work at a fair return, not just in times of prosperity but *always*, as long as he wants to go on working.

Private enterprise cannot guarantee that right. Hoover tried that and Americans have not forgotten it.

But American democracy, which includes private enterprise, can provide jobs for all.

This is no new concept . . .

. . . It is the purpose of the Full Employment Act, passed two years ago. President Truman is now determined to carry out the Act to guarantee lasting prosperity.

He has declared that each year our goals of production will be determined and achieved with the aid of government action.

He has declared that if we need more steel plants we shall have more steel plants, by private enterprise if possible, by public enterprise if necessary.

It's not the capitalism of the past. It's not socialism. It's a cooperative, state-aided capitalism dedicated to human welfare.

To us it's exciting. We think *it works*.

If you have a mind to watch it take shape through the eyes of America's foremost liberal writers and thinkers, read every issue of the New Republic from cover to cover.

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1949, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA & FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. Printed in the U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

LET'S START with Monday. Herbert Hoover is telling a House committee that the intolerable hodgepodge of executive agencies must be cleaned up. The good, gray ex-President is dressed in sober Quaker gray with a modest sweater-vest. He is relaxed, genial, mellow, a different fellow from the one of the melancholy old times, though he still doodles instead of looking at questioners—he acquired this irritating, eye-avoiding trick during his Commerce Department days. His hair is white now, slicked over the bald spot, and his face is a little pudgier.



The committee and its Negro chairman, Representative Dawson (Ill.), listen respectfully and a little awed. Questions show that streamlining will have a fight. But can this really be the unhappy President who sent his own merger plan to a Democratic Congress 17 years ago, and saw it slapped down? He even tries a pawky joke or two. Yes, it's a happier Hoover, who has dropped his old starched trade mark, the three-inch choker collar, for a soft shirt. Time Marches On . . .

Tuesday. Another House committee. Who is chairman? Why, it's Rankin, the Kluxer, ousted from the Un-American Activities Committee but head of Veterans' Affairs under the inexorable rule of seniority. This is the unveiling of the most lavish veterans' pension plan ever. Eight billions a year for veterans of World Wars I and II. It won't get far with full employment, but once deflation takes hold, it will zoom like a guided missile—mark our words. Sixty dollars a month at 60 years; \$90 at 65. No economic or disability qualifications at all; come and get it, you veterans, anybody who served 90 days and got an honorable discharge.

A witness observes that President Truman opposes the plan. Haggard

old Rankin rubs his hands; he looks like a cheerful Grand Torturer. In his 28 years' experience, he chortles, all Presidents have opposed all veterans' pension plans—and all plans have ultimately passed Congress. This one is backed by 3.5 million American Legionnaires. The witness says there are 2.6 million World War I veterans; 16 million World War II. The new veterans' pension (if it takes effect) will really be of almost universal application: a new type of federal old-age pension plan.

Wednesday. We are sitting in the State Department's auditorium. A hundred polylingual correspondents are here for the show. Secretary Acheson enters at the rear, calm, smiling, cool. Brown tie, brown suit, brown shoes. He strides down the incline, sits in an armchair behind a veneered walnut table. He starts in on the Stalin statement. The ends of his pukkasahib mustache and thick reddish eyebrows point up. He is as deft and precise as a surgeon doing an appendectomy. The finesse of the performance is so brilliant, the professional assurance so suave and ironic, that it is hard not to applaud. He squelches an interrupter from the *Daily Worker* without lifting his voice. What technique, what a man! And who's the patient? Oh, some woman, we understand; came in with an olive branch; the name is Peace. Will she recover? Ah, who knows? But the operation certainly was a success.

Thursday. We are getting behind—this certainly is a busy week. All through it, a duel has been in progress, with participants giving their all in one of those fine intellectual combats Washington sometimes produces. It's the battle between Taft and Tobin over the new labor bill: the tall, young, blue-eyed Labor Secretary with a South Boston accent pitted hour after

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hour against our old sobersides Taft—a man who has, we think, one of the best brains that ever came to Washington (however he may use it). Despite our prejudices, we think Taft had the edge. Tobin is finding out he is in the Big League now.

At a 4 o'clock press conference, Harry Truman, wearing an immaculate double-breasted dark suit, says he doesn't care whether Congress gives him authority to enjoin "national security" strikes or not. The conference is made memorable by a question from a tall, gray-haired man who has crashed the meeting. Does Truman believe in a "day of prayer for peace"? Truman neatly extricates himself by saying that we should all pray for peace every day. Afterwards, the jittery Secret Service slowly boils itself dry thinking what if the visitor had come with a gat. How did he ever get in? Answer: A Representative who thought he was doing a favor to a constituent simply got him passed at the White House by telephone.

Friday. The hearing room in the white marble Federal Reserve Building is very chaste. Fabulous multimillionaire A. P. Giannini, 78, son of a West Coast truck gardener, is being tried in absentia. The Reserve Board says that his five-state financial empire, with 600 banking offices, and his Transamerica (holding) Corporation, with subsidiaries ranging in scope from life insurance to fishing smacks, may violate monopoly laws. Giannini is fighting back. Full-page ads in New York and Washington papers denounce a "bank lobby intrigue." Giannini's counsel is Sam Stewart, former Truman committee counsel; he is reported to have made three "courtesy" calls on the White House in two months. The Reserve Board's counsel is Leonard Townsend; he fought a vain eight-year SEC battle against Giannini only to see the Commission finally drop it. "I object," says Stewart. "Overruled," says the hearing officer. "Speechless," "amazed," "ridiculous," "absurd," says Stewart. Will this last for another eight years?

Washington

T. R. B.



THE NORTH ATLANTIC PACT

SECRETARY ACHESON said the other day that the North Atlantic defense pact represented the most important decision in American history, and this may well be true.

Under the Constitution, only Congress can declare war, and throughout our whole history we have jealously prevented any encroachment on that right. The proposed North Atlantic pact does not openly attempt to upset that situation; it says merely that the signatories will regard an attack on any of them as a threat to the security of each; but if this phrase means anything, it means that the United States is morally committed to come to the aid of the state which is attacked, with all the strength it possesses, to follow up with its own soldiers and equipment the guns which it will give under lend-lease. It means perhaps a further commitment to intervene on behalf of a legitimate government if it is threatened by revolt. In these ways the pact increases America's commitments and diminishes our freedom of action. But the belief that by clinging to the sole right to declare war, Congress can choose whether or not this country shall live in peace was shattered once and for all by Pearl Harbor.

Does it help peace? Peace, we believe, requires the restoration of economic stability the world over, and the creation of a self-reliant and self-governing European federation. Without some assurance of security, recovery and political union may be impossible in Europe. For example, the French will not undertake the reform of their tax structure, the reorganization of their economy, large-scale investment in new factories and houses, as long as they believe that within ten years their land will again be invaded, their government overturned, their factories and homes reduced to rubble in another war. This pact does not in itself lessen the danger of war. It may make easier the achievement of other conditions which lead to peace.

Is it a step forward? That depends on how it is used. ERP has been used in some cases to permit necessary changes; in others to delay fundamental reforms. So this pact can bolster sovereign states or bring European federation closer. Its ability to aid federation is the real test of its worth. Federation, caught until now between the political approach of the French and the

functional approach of the British, has lagged behind the urgent need of unity. The French have pressed it almost as an alternative to painful domestic reforms. Bevin, remembering only the years it took him to weld 47 struggling unions into the Transport and General Workers' Union, has moved too slowly. Now in the European Council a start has been made. "We are creating a European mentality," Bevin said recently. "If Europe is to be saved," he added, "it has to be one entity. . . . The Atlantic pact offers an assurance to Western Europe of its political salvation."

How will Russia react? Today the Soviet government is applying strong pressure against the pact, and at the same time advancing itself as the champion of new peace talks. In this way, America and the pact are identified with preparation for a new war.

The pact replaces the idea of an independent buffer region in Western Europe, with the concept of an Atlantic community. It works to lessen Communist and Soviet influence in Western Europe. Yet at this moment Russia is more concerned with national defense than world conquest. She fears the pact less as a means of political pressure, than for the radar screens, the submarine bases, the espionage outposts it may offer to America in countries such as Norway which lie on Soviet borders.

Yet, since retrenchment in Europe and consolidation in China seem to be the USSR's present aims, the pact is unlikely to lead to a counter-move by Russia such as the occupation of Finland.

What about the United Nations? Nominally, the North Atlantic pact does not violate the United Nations Charter, which provides for such regional developments as this under Articles 51 and 52, written with the Monroe Doctrine chiefly in mind. Actually, of course, the cold war is itself a violation of the spirit of the United Nations, which was intended to be a substitute for all war, hot or cold. It is doubtful whether the North Atlantic pact will put the United Nations into any additional danger, or will worsen the situation. If it serves to prevent a shooting war, it may ultimately rescue the UN. If it does not, and the world goes up in flames, everything is lost, and the signifi-

cance of separate steps like the present one will become a mere footnote on the pages of history.

Will the North Atlantic pact do the job? To ask this question is like asking, How tall is a tree? In any military situation you need just enough strength to deter the other fellow from fighting, or to beat him if he decides to fight. Many intangible factors enter into such a situation; one of them is the psychology of the Western Europeans, their will to resist, which should be enormously augmented if they know the United States is standing behind them.

The North Atlantic pact needs enough strength for two purposes: first, to convince the Russians an actual movement of the Red Army westward would be very unhealthy, and second, to show them it would be equally unhealthy to repeat the Czechoslovak pattern. Captain Liddell Hart throws much light on the first of these problems, and indirectly on the second, in his article in this issue.

Although most people have assumed that at any time in the visible future the Red Army could move at will across Western Europe to the water's edge and the Pyrenees, Captain Liddell Hart tells us on the contrary that a small, highly mobile army supplemented by a powerful air force should be enough to stop the Russians for the necessary period of time to bring up the heavy reserves. Those reserves are not available today and they cannot be made available within the next few years. For this reason some European military leaders have resisted the pact, maintaining that the risk for Europe, in joining a pact which Russia has condemned, is greater than any commitment for arms and assurances which America can possibly provide.

Can we afford it? Today Western Europe is falling behind its ECA production goals. France, around which the defense of continental Europe must be based, is furthest behind. Britain may produce planes for Western Europe, and Belgium, guns, under a unified rearmament program, but the main provision of arms must come from America. It will be provided from our surplus stocks which we will need to replace. It will mean allocations of scarce materials according to a recognized system of priorities in which the defense of Europe comes before non-essential production.

What are the chief dangers of the pact? One danger is self-deception—the belief that a treaty can destroy Communism or give to sovereign states a magic protection against war. The truth is that only the settlement of the cold war will permit real world recovery, and only a world society can ensure lasting peace.

A second danger is that emphasis on military security will undermine the search for peace. It may discourage the effort to reach a settlement with Russia. It may,

under the influence of our steel industry and our military men, lead to the rearming of Europe by reliance on increased German production. Most dangerous of all, it may lead to the decline of ERP. If Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and other nations feel they cannot join the pact, Congress may deny them ERP aid. This would be disastrous, because ERP is a universal principle concerned with peace, whereas the pact is a local expedient concerned with war. If American aid for recovery is limited to members of our armed camp, the hopes for peace will be shattered.

We must also be careful that our military supplies are not used for improper ends—ends whose impropriety some of our own military leaders might not recognize. We don't want our equipment used to bolster up a bad government against the legitimate desires of a majority of the people. We don't want, either, to have our arms employed to help such a country as the Netherlands to hold down such a colony as Indonesia.

We believe in European federation. We believe that this federation has the right to defend itself, if necessary with our weapons, and the further assurances of our aid. We believe that unless this right is recognized, the Council of Europe may be stillborn. If we, even at this point, should withdraw our support, the governments of Western Europe would be endangered. So we support in principle a North Atlantic pact. But the gates to war are opened when good principles are subjected to bad practices. We need a heightened concern for peace on the part of every citizen. World diplomacy is too important to be left to diplomats. The Atlantic pact is a weapon, and weapons are dangerous, not only in the hands of the aggressive, but in those of the childish and the blind. Now, more than ever, we need a joint declaration from Congress of the ends to which our blood and our treasure are to be used. This declaration must include these assertions:

The determination that all international conflicts can and must be resolved without war.

The determination that the active promotion of democracy is the way to resolve these conflicts.

The determination that the United Nations shall be strengthened if possible by unanimous consent until it possesses under law the power to prohibit war.

The determination that the unification of the democracies of the world shall be advanced until such time as the UN is given the necessary power.

Without this positive alternative to national rearmament the peoples of the world will remain uneasy, and the rulers of the USSR will see no alternative but to respond with counter-pressures against every new pressure that we apply.

THE WEEK

THE CP AND THE COLLEGE

SEATTLE (NR correspondent)

Last summer a local "little Dies Committee" did a witch-hunting job on the University of Washington, and as a result six members of the faculty have recently been under investigation. Although the charges against them have been phrased in various ways, the real accusation was secret membership in the Communist Party.

Three of them said they were formerly members but had resigned at various times over the past few years; they have been retained but put on probation.

Two others at first refused to answer, but later said that they were and are CP members; they have been dismissed.

The sixth, Dr. Ralph Gundlach, insists that he is not and never has been a Communist. He has been discharged on the technical excuse of "incompetence"; the evidence offered seems to an outsider flimsy in the extreme. The University authorities said that he had been a member of a number of local groups which they claimed were Communist-front organizations. Dr. Gundlach has brought suit for \$100,000 for libel against the University president for calling him a Communist.

Attorneys for the University wanted all six men fired. A faculty committee of eleven produced a whole series of varying reports, the gist of which was the sensible recommendation that nobody should be dismissed for merely holding opinions.

The president, as might be expected, denies that the dismissals constitute any invasion of academic freedom. He says:

Clandestine activity such as that of Joseph Butterworth and Herbert Phillips [the other two men dismissed] in the Communist Party means that they have forsaken their duty to protect the University's integrity and pursue an objective quest of truth, in favor of a propagandistic mission entirely unrelated to

real educational and scholarly effort. An important function of the University is to teach citizenship. For this teaching to be in the hands of men who secretly belong to an organization advocating the complete overthrow of the American system should not be tolerated.

The American Civil Liberties Union has a special Committee on Academic Freedom, headed by Professor Eduard C. Lindeman. This committee, which has followed the Washington case closely, makes three important points:

1. Membership in any legal political party is not in itself a ground for dismissal of a teacher.
2. Intruding personal political beliefs into teaching is a proper ground for dismissal.
3. Refusal to answer questions of a legislative inquiry as to personal political connections or those of others is not a proper ground for discipline by a university.

The case will be investigated by the American Association of University Professors. An adverse finding would of course do the University of Washington great harm.

WAGNER ACT: 1949 MODEL

Four weeks after Congress convened, the Administration has sent up a new bill which the CIO considers "magnificent." And now, Democrats of the Senate Labor Committee have begun high-pressure operations to repudiate the Taft-Hartley's philosophy completely and return to the Wagner Act's philosophy that collective bargaining—including the right to strike effectively—must be the foundation of our industrial relations.

Republicans fighting a rear-guard action are falling into two groups. Senator Wayne Morse, who opposed the Taft-Hartley Act, deplores the way Democrats are making the labor bill of 1949 a "partisan" issue. Senator Irving M. Ives of New York, no longer a member of the Labor Committee, is advising his GOP colleagues

from the sidelines to make an affirmative fight to substitute the Morse-Ives bill of 1947—much milder than the final Taft-Hartley Act—for the Administration bill. On the other hand, Taft and the Republican Old Guard are preparing to fight on the Senate floor for "substantial" parts of T-H.

The GOP hopes at least to keep the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service an independent agency, separate from the Labor Department, and to retain the T-H clause guaranteeing employers "free speech" in discussing unions. Cyrus S. Ching, director of the Mediation Service, is fighting hard to maintain its independent status. Both Taft and Ives, who personally opposed the T-H non-Communist-affidavit clause in 1947, now favor retaining it.

As yet there is no clear sign that Congress recognizes that straitjacket legislation, imposing restrictions and restraints on labor, cannot solve the difficult problems of industrial relations in a democracy. Before the Administration bill was okayed, even some White House staff members wanted to retain injunction powers—though Ching's Mediation Service report denounced the whole "national emergency" and injunction section of the Act as a proved failure and a factor in delaying labor agreements.

By and large, the Administration bill is an excellent measure. It places emphasis on conciliation, fact-finding boards, and voluntary agreements between management and labor with a minimum of government intrusion at the bargaining table.

HOUSING IN THE 81st

The promise of adequate housing at reasonable prices—one of the clearest pledges in the President's platform—is already in doubt. The State of the Union message reaffirmed the Democratic Party promises on housing. That section of the President's message was

drafted by New Dealers who had survived in the Roosevelt public-housing program over the protests of Federal Housing Administrator Raymond M. Foley and his real-estate-minded associates. A major mistake was made when Foley was given the job of translating the President's words into a draft bill and transmitting that to Congress. Somewhere along the way, the wires got crossed. Republicans who had sponsored public-housing legislation in years past, notably Senators Taft, Tobey and Flanders, were given such rude treatment by Foley's emissaries that they did not support the Administration bill this time. The bill itself fell short of the President's prescription.

The true friends of public housing in Congress are struggling to overcome these errors of the opening days. Republicans in both Houses have

introduced measures more progressive than the Administration bill. The effort now will be to iron out all the differences in committee hearings.

The White House privately acknowledges its mistake. There is pressure from labor and citizen groups to strike at the root of the trouble by replacing Foley. Robert Wagner Jr., of New York City, is most prominently mentioned for the job.

Meanwhile, the Administration is pledged to restore the rent-control laws abolished by the Republican 80th Congress. Probably new rent-control legislation will be the 81st Congress' major act. The bill to extend and strengthen rent control for another two years will affect millions of tenants.

Specifically, here's how the law, if passed, will affect you: If you live in a hotel as a permanent resident, as

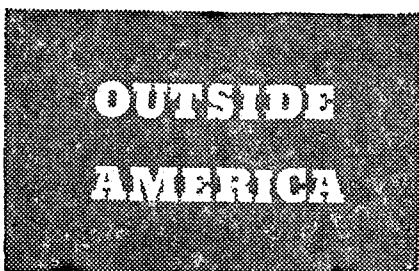
distinguished from transient residents, a ceiling will be placed on your rent. If you rent a house or an apartment, your landlord can no longer force you to sign the "voluntary" 15-percent increase permitted by the present law. When your lease expires, the rent will be frozen at the level stated in the lease. Homes and apartments converted for rental purposes, automatically decontrolled under the present law, will be under control until the Housing Expediter rules that the conversion provided additional family living units.

Safeguards against eviction and violations by landlords would be restored. The Housing Expediter would be authorized to sue a landlord for treble damages for overcharges if the tenant, fearing eviction, failed to do so. The Expediter would be empowered to employ criminal sanctions against willful violators and to subpoena data to enforce the law.

After the committee hearings get under way, labor groups and landlord lobbies will be on hand. The CIO has announced it favors a stronger rent-control measure introduced by Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.) and Senator Francis Myers (D, Penn.). Unlike the agency measure, the Douglas and Myers bills place new construction under control, allow local boards (often dominated by the real-estate interests) to act only in an advisory capacity, and define strong safeguards against evictions. The Douglas bill also calls for a roll-back of all 15-percent rent increases permitted under the old law.

Charles Stuart, spokesman for the National Association of Real Estate Boards, has announced that his group would continue their fight to let rent controls die at the expiration of the present law, March 31. The Tulsa (Okla.) Property Owners Association, with affiliates in 20 other cities, began distributing eviction notices to 1,000 families, withdrawing their property from the rental market. Such action, Administration leaders believe, will help guarantee quick passage of even stiffer rent-control legislation.





In modern Italy one of the most serious economic and social problems is presented by the existence of the *latifondi*, huge estates owned by great landlords, very frequently absentee, that are a feature of the southern area from Sicily to the region between Naples and



Rome. On these estates the peasants live in a situation of abysmal poverty and misery almost beyond the imagination of Americans, even those well aware of conditions among the sharecroppers and tenant farmers of the Deep South.

Barrett McGurn, writing from Rome for the New York *Herald Tribune*, says:

At present, 69 percent of the land is held by less than seven percent of the owners. The average holding is only four acres but 105 owners average 13,000 acres. Only one-fifth of Italy's 8.6 million farmers own their own land. . . . Many large landowners have been able to enjoy a life of idleness and ease, even in troubled post-war Italy, as a result of earnings from sharecroppers and tenants on their ancestral estates.

The problem of the *latifondi* is one of the few on which the attitudes of the two great political opponents—the Catholic Church and the Communist Party—are not very far apart. Both the Communists and the reformist wings of the Democratic Christian Party have favored dividing the *latifondi* into estates no larger than 250 acres. Land reform is one of the principal goals of Catholic Action, a large, nationwide organization of Italian laymen, some of whose leaders have sought to break the great estates into even smaller parcels, arguing that only through personal

land tenure can Italy's backward regions really get started on the road toward democracy.

Under the Fascist regime, Mussolini talked a great deal about land reform, about breaking up the *latifondi*, but did little. Under the Nazis, the great *latifondisti* were favored because many of them were collaborators. It was only after the creation of the new Italian Republic that the problem was seriously approached. Land reform was one of the campaign promises that won last spring's election for Premier Alcide de Gasperi. And when the Americans, through ECA, began to help Italians get on their economic feet, the little people of the *latifondi* began to dare to hope for the first time in their benighted lives that they would get both food and freedom, that they would eat and have their own land.

Half of these hopes had to be abandoned recently. ECA's Italian chief, James D. Zellerbach, announced on the eve of his departure for the US to testify before Congress, that \$53 million from the ECA counterpart fund would be used for public works in southern Italy, Sicily and Sardinia. But land reform, he said, was an internal Italian affair and the US "will not be in favor of innovations." This meant no splitting up of the *latifondi*; it also meant that though the peasants might get more food, they wouldn't get the economic freedom on which, in the modern world, political freedom must be based. Here is the *Herald Tribune's* version of Zellerbach's reasons:

Although on some estates Zellerbach has seen in Italy, "little or no" money apparently has been spent for improvement, there are others in which scientific methods and highly progressive social views towards employees have been placed in effect, he said. "Arbitrary" cutting of estates probably would discourage even small landowners from making the investments in fertilizer and seeds required for increased agricultural production if Italy is to reduce the large imports of free ERP food, Zellerbach indicated.

One needs no direct knowledge of the Italian south to wonder whether

Zellerbach was taken in by a few Potemkin-type estates where "highly progressive" methods were shown to him. All one needs is to have read *Christ Stopped at Eboli*. Practically nothing has changed since Carlo Levi turned his clear-sighted doctor's eyes and used his human compassion on the miserable peasants of the modern-medieval area in which Zellerbach wants twentieth-century American free enterprise.

Of course, the key to Zellerbach's reasoning is the phrase about reducing imports from the US. No one questions that we must stop our help to Italy some time or other. ECA director Paul G. Hoffman recently said there was no question of aid continuing after 1952. But that was to have been the date by which, through US efforts, the Italian economy would be well on the way toward just, democratic self-reliance; and the Italians would be both fed and free. The trouble is that, as ECA is actually run, it isn't carrying out the high purpose for which it was created. What is all-important to Zellerbach isn't getting Italy started toward carrying out her basic long-term tasks of economic liberation; what he wants is an immediate (or at any rate, speedy) increase in production. The real economic and social change, the dependable reform and the lasting im-



provement which are needed to remove the plague spots in which Fascism bred and in which Communism may yet breed—all these are subordinate in the minds of ECA's free-enterprising businessmen.

Zellerbach probably will consider that ECA has succeeded if in 1952 it pulls out with a statistical balance sheet showing greater production and short-term economic improvement. Perhaps, to ECA, it won't make any difference if such a "success" is nothing more than an illusion, if the sources of Fascism and Communism remain. Nor may it make any difference that the short-term gains will be

quickly lost if the people of the Italian south are left socially and humanly pretty much where they have been for centuries. That will be "an internal Italian affair."

★

Hjalmar Schacht has been almost as notorious for not having a heart as for having a brain. The Germans, who know a thing or two about cold arrogance, say ice water flows in his veins. Nevertheless, they respect him as the financial wizard whose tricks showed the Reich how to beat the reparations rap after World War I and helped Hitler build the economic machine for World War II.



Schacht's face was, as usual, frozen during his trial at Nuremberg. Not even when American witnesses showed sympathetic understanding of his evil genius did he crack a smile. But when the court decided that it wasn't any crime to doctor the books for the Führer, and acquitted him, he realized that he and the Americans could make wonderful music together. He wrote an operetta about the love of an American GI for a fraulein. His friends who have seen the libretto deny that the name of the American is Wall Street, and of the German maiden Deutschland.

★

European unity is a political dream that many men have tried to make come true either in books or on battlefields. Pierre Dubois in 1307 wrote one of the first books. Sully 300 years later worked out a "Grand Design" for France's Henri IV. In the eighteenth century Kant, Rousseau, Castel de St. Pierre and others wrote books. Napoleon tried the battlefields, and when he failed, Saint-Simon wrote another book. Coudenhove-Kalergi preached Pan-Europa after World War I, and Briand proposed a federal union on the eve of the Great Depression. World War II was Hitler's effort to ape the Napoleonic method, and af-

terward bookish men once more came to the fore with schemes like the Congress of Europe and the European Parliamentary Union.

Now, at long last, the governments of Western Europe have agreed, says the *New York Times*, "to create a 'Council of Europe' and thus fulfill a dream of centuries of European statesmen." There will be a committee of government ministers and an advisory assembly meeting in public. From London, the *Times* reported that the statesmen responsible for "these momentous decisions" were "visibly elated," for "they knew they had made history."

But from Paris, the *Times* reported that the French take the project seriously "only as a faint beginning. . . . They think it is better than nothing, but not very much better, thanks to British hesitation." One of these hesitations is the British insistence that the assembly must consist of delegations nominated by governments, each casting only a single vote. The *New Statesman and Nation* comments:

Never officially explained, the motives behind the British attitude appear to be the reluctance of the Cabinet to risk having an assembly in which the British delegation might include either Winston Churchill or Philip Piratin [Communist MP] or which might even join with other parliamentary delegations in passing resolutions contrary to the British Government's desires. . . . It is felt in Paris that . . . the conception of unity will never take shape in the public mind unless a democratically constituted assembly is created and allowed to vote on lines cutting across national frontiers.

Thus even now, nationalism, party politics and personalities still stand in the way of fulfillment of the old dream of European unity. Perhaps it is true, as many Europeans have felt gloomily in recent years, that Europe is really becoming what its name originally meant—the word, Europe, comes from the Assyrian *ereb* and means land of the darkness of the setting sun.

★

Charles de Gaulle, the Horatio Alger hero of an ersatz political mystique, had occasion recently to renew one of his most sacred vows to the

elect of his Rally of the French People. He'd heard voices, this time different ones from the echoes of those that once had spoken to *La Pucelle*. His comment was a thunderous: *Jamais!* Never would he make political deals; always he would remain above the dirty game of old-fashioned party politics.

Then, in Grenoble, the Communists won 40 percent of the votes in a city election, taking 15 of the 37 council seats; the Third Force took 12; de Gaulle's Rally, 10. The worst showing was the Socialists—only one seat. The next step was for the council to elect a mayor. Perhaps it was static from the General's celestial antenna that made him order his men to gang up with the Third Force, and name the lone Socialist.

★

At Fenghwa, come the Ides of March (if not sooner), a Chinese who once bestrode a continent like a Colossus, who for years ruled more millions than ever did Ancient Rome's Caesar, may be thinking of *Man's Fate*. What a fall there has been for Chiang Kai-shek; and what irony there is in the fact that he was finally undone by Mao Tse-tung, a Chinese working in closest harmony with the Russians.

For it was with the help of Russians—Borodin and others—that Chiang was able in 1926 to lead the Kuomintang's armies to triumph in north China. The drilling of Chinese officers, the agitation that set Chinese workers and peasants against bosses and landlords, the propaganda that roused the countryside—all these were in large part Russian. And then, the next year, as André Malraux described in his novel, Chiang turned against the Russians, expelled or executed them, and massacred thousands of Chinese Communists.

Now, 22 years later, it may be his own fate that Chiang is thinking about: Mao insists he be put on trial. And, if it takes place, what a trial it will be! One to rank with those in Moscow and Nuremberg—and to provide valuable footnotes to the diary of "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell. P. W.

THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST

The proposed North Atlantic pact involves one of the most important decisions by which the American people have ever been confronted. The article which follows is the first of a series in which this vital matter will be discussed in all its aspects.

Captain Liddell Hart, who here analyzes the cold military realities of the defense of Western Europe, is an outstanding British military expert. He has been military editor of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Times* (London).

—THE EDITORS

WHILE THE North Atlantic alliance still awaits completion and ratification, the military formation of Western Union in Europe has gone ahead—on the higher staff level. The process has made the problems clearer, without making the solution clear.

Four months have passed since the Defense Ministers of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg met and decided to set up a permanent defense organization for the five countries. Before the end of October this had been constituted. At the top is the Western Union Defense Committee of the five ministers, assisted by a Permanent Commission which is established in London. Under that comes the Western Union Chiefs of Staff, to provide military advice and issue its *directives*; this body consists of one member from each of the existing Chiefs of Staff, the Belgian member representing Luxembourg as well. The chairman is Lord Tedder, chief of the British Air Staff, who is also chairman of the British Chiefs of Staff Committee.

The Western Union Chiefs of Staff meet in London and are assisted by a Military Committee, a large international and interservice organ which has to study the situation and furnish the data for reaching a judgment. It includes a Supply and Resources Board, which has the problem of how to span the gap between present resources and needs. American and

by **B. H. Liddell Hart**

Canadian representatives attend as "observers."

The *directives* of the Western Union Chiefs of Staff go to the actual directing organ, the Western Europe Commanders-in-Chief Committee, of which Field Marshal Montgomery is chairman. This has its main headquarters in London, but has now established an advance headquarters at Fontainebleau, near Paris. The Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces is French General de Lattre de Tassigny. The Commander-in-Chief of the Air Forces is Air Marshal Sir James Robb. There is no Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces, but the empty chair at the committee table is filled by the French Vice Admiral Jaujard as Naval Representative. It would appear that the British Navy maintains its independence, and would fight under its own command, subject to a general strategical plan that would presumably be framed in concert with the US.

The planning organization for Western Europe's defense is very strong—but the actual defenses are woefully weak. From that has already developed a difference of views and apparent signs of a tug between two schools of thought as to the best way of dealing with the problem. One favors a predominantly "land" solution and the other an "air" solution—and it is not difficult, in surveying the over-all organization, to gauge where the weight of either school lies.

The primary problem that has to be solved is that of Western Europe's ability to withstand an *overland* invasion—and prevent the Continent's being overrun before America could make her weight felt. In that respect, it is the forces on the scene which count, not a prospective reinforcement from overseas, however great this might ultimately become.

A roof was put on the defense structure of Western Europe before the state of the walls in the different

sections had been thoroughly examined. The present structure suffers from the fact that most of the "walls" were razed by the German conquest in 1940, and have had to be rebuilt completely, which has been a slow process under postwar conditions. The British section was an exception, but that was largely demolished by demobilization. Few people have any clear idea of the state of the various national forces. The majority are still inclined to think in terms of prewar figures, and the veil of secrecy has mercifully hidden from them how much slighter the present effective strengths are than what were regarded as necessary before the war—though they did not prove adequate then.

On any manpower calculation, as well as on other grounds, France is the principal component of the continental part of the Western Union forces. In 1939 France had a peacetime army of 500,000 men, and trained reserves amounting to five million, though she lacked sufficient modern equipment to make effective use of them. After mobilization she expanded her 30 peacetime divisions to 90 by the time the German invasion came. France had then an air force of 1,730 first-line machines, numerically about equal to Britain's, but many of the 260 bombers were obsolete.

The French army now is superficially as strong as before the war; indeed, a shade larger in numbers—550,000. But its operational strength (the number of formations organized for action) is much smaller—not even as well equipped as in 1940 relative to the standards of the time. There are only five divisions in France, though two of these are armored. There are two more infantry divisions in North Africa, where General Juin has been reorganizing the local forces.

The 50,000 troops in the French zone of Germany under General Guillaume might provide the equivalent of two divisions, but have been

too much absorbed and dispersed in occupation duties. At the same time the prolonged trouble in Indo-China has been a serious drain on the home army, especially in regard to trained officers and NCO's. The total force there is still more than 100,000, and distance cancels them out as a potential reserve.

But the heaviest drain has come from the combination of short service with the handicap of having to rebuild a military system which had been demolished. The main effort has been put into the training of the individual soldier, rather than in the creation of operational formations.

Embryonically, the postwar system of training that General de Lattre de Tassigny introduced has better promise than the old. Before the war, the French army was depressingly hide-bound, and its chiefs were the least inclined of all to think that they could learn anything from anybody else. So it went on perpetuating the methods of World War I until it crashed on meeting different methods in World War II. Its new chiefs have been more ready to profit by other people's experience, and in their training system, at least, they have made use of good points from all quarters. Instead of being kept in barracks, the young recruits are mostly trained in small open-air camps under a system designed to toughen them physically, harden their nerve, foster their initiative and develop versatility. It is the most advanced system of *primary* training in any army. The period of service is short, however, for developing the technical skill required by modern weapons, and for the necessary extensive tactical practice.

The heaviest handicap of all is the French army's continued lack of modern weapons, especially of the heavier types—tanks, artillery and aircraft. Its materiel is obsolescent.

The air force has had even less chance than the army to recover lost ground. In numbers of men its strength is only about 70,000, but that lowly figure gives an exaggerated impression of its operational strength.

We come now to the Benelux countries. Of these, Belgium had the best army before the war, both in efficiency and equipment, although it was not up to first-class standards. Its peacetime strength was 65,000, of whom nearly a third were professional soldiers, which was organized in six skeleton infantry divisions and two motorized cavalry divisions. It could mobilize 600,000 men for war, and managed to put 23 divisions into the field. Holland had an average peacetime strength of fewer than 30,000. When war came she mobilized about 400,000, organized in 10 divisions and the equivalent of as many in smaller units, but their equipment and training were of a low standard.

Both armies have profited from that hard experience in reconstructing their systems of training. But their present peacetime strength is even lower than prewar, their trained reserves are fewer, and they are still very short of modern equipment. Belgium's annual contingent is only 32,000 and her actual formations now comprise only three skeleton divisions. Holland has not even that. In these countries, as in France, the training problem has absorbed most of the resources, and it is unlikely that they could bring any operationally fit divisions into action in an emergency. Here is the crux of the problem, for the pace of modern invasion may be too fast for a defense that must wait for mobilization.

Luxembourg's prewar army amounted to 250 men; she now plans to produce 15,000 on mobilization.

What could Britain contribute to the immediate defense of Western Europe? On the latest figures given, the army numbers just over 400,000 men. Of this total 180,000 are regulars, and the remainder are conscripts under the National Service scheme. All other significant facts about its composition and distribution are officially concealed from the public.

Some facts have been given, however, by speakers in Parliament and in other well-informed quarters. It was stated, without contradiction, that our

operational strength amounts to only two infantry divisions, one armored brigade and one parachute brigade. It has been mentioned that one infantry division, an armored brigade and a parachute brigade are in Germany. The existence of an infantry division in the Eastern Mediterranean area has also been mentioned. The obvious conclusion is that there are no divisions at home.

Before the war the army was less than half its present size, yet produced seven divisions at home, available to help the defense of Western Europe, and three in Egypt and Palestine. Three of the ten were armored divisions. That was the result of the reorganization which Hore-Belisha initiated in 1937-38. As his personal adviser at that time I was closely concerned with solving the problem of getting the maximum number of operational formations out of a limited scale of manpower. The harder problem was to produce equipment.

The present low capacity, and scarcity of divisions, is due to two factors. First, to swollen establishments of non-fighting troops—a universal legacy of wasteful wartime organization which in all armies tends to develop too much top-hamper and too large a "tail." Second, and still more seriously, to the unwise postwar policy of mixing conscription with the professional system, which greatly reduces the army's readiness to meet a sudden emergency.

It would thus appear that, until we can reorganize to produce more divisions, the British contribution to the defense of Western Union will be limited to the small force that is already present in Germany. The American combat force there is likewise small.

Given time to mobilize, the total forces might be much increased. There are plenty of reservists who could be called up, if not plenty of equipment for them—a handicap that would heavily diminish their mobilizable strength. Some estimates put this at nearly a hundred divisions, but such a figure seems theoretical rather than

practical. Beyond this is the question of whether there would be time to mobilize.

For the Russians are estimated to have about 30 divisions in their zone of Germany. They are reported to include the equivalent of eight armored divisions, with tanks that are more powerful than any in Europe except our own latest type, and six to eight motorized divisions. This constitutes a formidable spearhead for an opening thrust. It is much stronger than the forces available to the West.

The total strength of the Red Army is vastly larger, even on the present "peacetime" basis. Estimates range from two to three million in men serving, and in organized divisions from 170 to 200. On mobilization, these might be raised to between 250 and 300, and within a year could be doubled—which would almost equal its last figure of 550.

As the Russians have not been able to motorize their forces to anything like the degree that the Western armies have, there would be some delay in bringing their huge weight to bear so far West, because of the difficulties of movement and supply—although one must reckon with the toughness of the Russian troops and their ability to live where others would starve—the way they can "live on the country" where they are operating.

Delay would give the Western countries a chance to mobilize their reserves—which are so much larger than the forces they have ready for action. If they could check any attempt to overrun them quickly; and forestall their reinforcement from overseas, the prospect would be more hopeful than it looks at present.

A sense of the lack, and doubts as to how far it can be filled, have given a fresh force to a differing current of opinion—particularly in England. This has been under the surface for some time. It was brought out in a recent House of Lords debate that was initiated by Lord Templewood and Lord Trenchard, and was endorsed by Lord Portal. Since the first had been both Air Minister and Foreign Min-

ister, while the others were the two most famous past chiefs of the Air Staff, their arguments made a deep impression.

The thesis was put in a sentence, by Templewood: "I am convinced that for the years immediately before us a dominant Allied Air Force can hold up and disorganize any Russian advance."

He went on to put his proposal in concrete terms:

I contemplate an Allied Air Force to operate at the very beginning of a war of at least 100 jet fighter squadrons, 150 latest type long-range bomber squadrons, 50 pilotless rocket units and 150 transport squadrons. With a fully equipped and manned force of this kind I am convinced that the Allies could stop and disorganize any attempted advance across the Continent.

Significantly, he did not even mention the need for land forces, but emphasized that besides "the immediate organization of bases,"

it needs also a determined effort to convince the countries of Western Europe, and particularly France (who for years past has ignored the teachings of air strategy), that air force is the most effective defense against Russian military aggression. Most of all, it needs the closest possible coöperation with the United States Air Force, now the predominant air power in the world, and the constant interchange of ideas, machines, and personnel between the British and American air forces. By these means, provided they are adopted with resolution and without delay, we can most effectively prevent war in the years before us and give European civilization the breathing space that it needs to recover its strength for beating off the attacks that now threaten it.

Trenchard expressed complete agreement, except that he proposed an Anglo-American air force of 550 squadrons—adding "150 squadrons of long-range fighters to protect our long-range bombers," but omitting the 50 pilotless rocket units.

He expressed equally strong disbelief that the Russians could be stopped in any other way:

With her vast army of millions of men, and masses of equipment and airplanes, she would overwhelm any garrison that we might maintain, or are

maintaining, in Berlin, or on the Elbe. They would come pouring through, right into France and across France to the coast. . . . Could we stop them with 1,000,000 men on the Elbe? Is it practical, politically or economically, for ourselves or our Allies to put 1,000,000 men on the Elbe? As we know, it is not.

But Trenchard, like Templewood, was sure that the Russians could be stopped by air power, if the Allied air force was of the scale they proposed. He declared that the war had shown "beyond a shadow of doubt" that "no formed bodies of troops can advance any distance by road or rail without air superiority." No body over a division strong could advance more than a short distance "in the face of superior air power."

The issues involved are so vital that it is essential to enquire whether the contentions of this influential school of thought are justified by such experience as we have for guidance. It is evident that Lords Trenchard and Templewood were basing themselves on the evidence of the Western campaigns. Contrary to this assumption is the fact that on the Eastern Front both the Germans and the Russians repeatedly made long advances without having air supremacy, or anything approaching it. In North Africa, too, Rommel several times succeeded in defeating our forces, and advancing dangerously far toward Egypt, without such an advantage in the air.

It is dangerous to draw conclusions from the disabilities suffered by the German forces in Normandy—where the Allies had an overwhelming mastery of the air—to dominate a relatively defined area, with limited routes of approach. Even there the German forces moved about to an extent apt to be overlooked by comparison with the hindrances.

From the evidence I have gathered in my discussions with the German commanders, it has become clear that the Russian forces, particularly their striking spearheads, are much better fitted than those of any Western army to carry out such an advance in face of a strong opposing air force—be-

cause of their lesser dependence upon supply, their troops' greater capacity to do without what other armies regard as necessities (in food and equipment), and the skill they have developed in moving dispersed.

Moreover, the single-minded "air" school of thought does not seem to take due account of the effect of the Russian air force in hindering such Allied air attack on the advancing Russian armies and their communications. At the start of a war, this interference would be much more marked than German interference was in the later stages of the last war—another reason why it may be dangerous to draw conclusions from the Western campaign of 1944-45.

While it seems important to correct excessive assumptions in the arguments of the air school of thought, I agree with its basic thesis—so long as this is not carried too far. When the British rearmament program was being planned in 1935-36, I argued that it would be wise to concentrate primarily on a powerful air force backed by a small but highly mobile army. That principle was adopted in 1937 as the basis of our military policy. It was abandoned in 1939, under pressure of the mass-army advocates and the French. Yet in the light of all the evidence now available from the enemy side, it is very clear how easily the German drive could have been paralyzed by a combination of air bombing and armored counterstroke, whereas the immobile mass of the hundred Franco-British foot-marching divisions proved helpless. Their action was always too late.

Likewise, with the present problem, a large army with little air support would weigh less than a powerful air force with a smaller army.

From my own reflection on the problem, it seems to me that the primary need under present conditions is to develop a highly mobile land force of the *minimum* scale necessary to check the Russian spearheads that could infiltrate in the face of air attack. We are far from possessing that minimum insurance at present. Hav-

ing determined what the scale of this "ground check" should be, the preponderant effort should be concentrated on developing air strength, to paralyze the follow-up advance of the Russian masses.

If Western Union had available even 20 high-quality divisions, modernly equipped and ready for action on the spot like a fire brigade, the whole situation would be changed for the better. General Martel, who was head of the British armored forces and then of the British Military Mission in Russia, has suggested a similar number as the minimum.

Such a number is not an impossibility. But it could only be attained by a radical change in the present military systems. One way would be to extend the period of full-time conscript service to three years, in all the countries, despite its heavy economic and social drawbacks. The other way would be to concentrate on obtaining sufficient professional soldiers to form operational forces on the required scale. That would involve a remodeling of the present mixed system and also more attractive rates of pay, but it would be cheaper than three years' conscript service and more likely to produce a dependable army.

If the scale of the "fire brigade" could be doubled, the prospects of defense would be increased out of all proportion. But such a figure would hardly be attainable except at the cost of essential air strength. Even the manpower required for such a force—as distinct from a conscript force that can only be mobilized *after* the emergency has arrived—might only be possible in one of two ways: by incorporating the Germans in the Western Union forces, or by stationing a large American land force permanently in Europe.

On any basis, however, the equipment problem remains to be solved. At present, that is the worst deficiency of the Continental members of Western Union, and it is even worse in the air sphere than on land. This need could only be met by large-scale and early provision from the United States.

RUBBISH (

Cass Cullis, of the Bryan (Ohio) Democrat, published Mondays and Thursdays, got to rummaging around in the world of the future the other day and came up with the following exchange of alarming radiograms, which he projects for the fall of 1979:

US EMBASSY, MOSCOW, OCT. 24, 1979

STATE DEPARTMENT, USA

USSR GOVERNMENT TODAY FILED PROTEST IN PART READS QUOTE USSR SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION ON MOON AT BASE OF PLATO COMPLAINS THAT ON OCTOBER 23 AREA WAS SHOWERED WITH TIN CANS, RUBBISH, ETC. FORTUNATELY NO SCIENTIFIC WORKER WAS HIT BY RUBBISH WHICH FELL WITH GREAT FORCE DUE TO ABSENCE OF ATMOSPHERE AND WHICH APPARENTLY CAME FROM AMERICAN MILITARY SATELLITE. RUSSIAN PERSONNEL ENDANGERED. USSR REQUESTS CARE BE EXERCISED THAT RUBBISH FROM SATELLITE NOT FALL ON RUSSIAN TERRITORY UNQUOTE.

AMBASSADOR

WASHINGTON, D. C., OCT. 25

COL. ANDREW HOFFMAN,
AMERICAN SATELLITE

USSR COMPLAINS RUBBISH DUMPED FROM YOUR HEADQUARTERS FELL ON THEIR TERRITORY ON MOON ENDANGERING PERSONNEL. FULL REPORT DESIRED.

G-2 WAR DEPT.

AMERICAN SATELLITE, OCT. 25

WAR DEPARTMENT, USA

TRAP FOR RELEASING GARBAGE FACES MOON. DID NOT KNOW RUBBISH RELEASED WAS FALLING ON RUSSIAN TERRITORY.

COL. HOFFMAN

OCT. 26

COL. HOFFMAN, AMERICAN SATELLITE

CEASE AT ONCE DUMPING RUBBISH TOWARD MOON. OKAY TO DUMP ON MARS.

WAR DEPARTMENT

THE MOON

WASHINGTON, OCT. 26

US EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INFORM USSR ORDERS TRANSMITTED TO AMERICAN SATELLITE NO MORE RUBBISH BE EJECTED IN DIRECTION OF MOON. EXPRESS REGRET OF US AND EXPLAIN THIS UNFORTUNATE INCIDENT PURELY ACCIDENTAL.

STATE DEPARTMENT

MOSCOW, OCT. 26

STATE DEPARTMENT, USA

USSR COMPLAINS THAT TWICE MORE RUBBISH HAS BEEN DUMPED ON SOVIET INSTALLATIONS ON MOON. LISHVINSKY IN PRIVATE TALK SAYS FEELING EXISTS THAT ACTION INTENTIONAL. EXPLAINED TO HIM ENTIRELY ACCIDENTAL. URGE CARE BE TAKEN IN FUTURE.

AMBASSADOR

MOSCOW, OCT. 27

STATE DEPARTMENT, USA

HAVE THIRD COMPLAINT RUBBISH SITUATION. RUSSIANS SEEM SORE. PLEASE CONTACT SATELLITE IMMEDIATELY.

AMBASSADOR

WASHINGTON, OCT. 27

COL. HOFFMAN, AMERICAN SATELLITE

USSR COMPLAINS RUBBISH DUMPED FOUR TIMES. ORDERED DESIST OCTOBER 26. IMMEDIATE REPORT DESIRED.

WAR DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN SATELLITE, OCT. 27

WAR DEPARTMENT, USA

EXPLANATION GARBAGE, RUBBISH, ETC., RELEASED BY HAND AND GIVEN GENTLE PUSH. DUE TO BALANCE, GRAVITATION BETWEEN EARTH AND MOON MOVES SLOWLY NOT MORE THAN MILE PER HOUR UNTIL IN AREA OF MOON'S GRAVITATION. REQUIRES FOUR OR FIVE DAYS TO REACH SURFACE OF MOON OUR ESTIMATE. HAVE DUMPED NO RUBBISH SINCE RECEIVING ORDER BUT RUBBISH PREVIOUSLY DUMPED ON WAY IN

SPACE AND CANNOT PREVENT NOW. FINAL RUBBISH SHOULD ARRIVE MOON OCTOBER 29 OR 30.

COL. HOFFMAN

MOSCOW, OCT. 28

STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

MOSCOW RADIO TODAY BITTERLY ATTACKED US. CHARGED RUBBISH DUMPED FIFTH TIME ON RUSSIAN TERRITORY MOON PROVES ACTION BEING TAKEN DELIBERATELY FOR PURPOSE INSULTING USSR. CHARGES US PROMISED TO CEASE SUCH DUMPING BUT CONTINUES IN SPITE OF PROMISES. SPEAKER RAILED AGAINST US AT LENGTH. SAID US WANTS TO RULE NOT ONLY WORLD BUT WHOLE SOLAR SYSTEM. SAID USSR AMPLY PREPARED AND UNAFRID.

AMBASSADOR

WASHINGTON, OCT. 29

US EMBASSY, MOSCOW

INFORM USSR IMMEDIATELY THAT AMERICAN SATELLITE CEASED DUMPING RUBBISH IN DIRECTION OF MOON AS PROMISED BUT DUE TO BALANCE OF GRAVITATION BETWEEN EARTH AND MOON RUBBISH MOVES SLOWLY UNTIL IT REACHES GRAVITATION SPHERE OF MOON AND REQUIRES ABOUT FIVE DAYS TO REACH SURFACE. US GOVERNMENT EXPRESSES REGRET AT INCIDENT AND GIVES ASSURANCE THAT WHEN RUBBISH NOW IN SPACE HAS FALLEN THERE WILL BE NO MORE.

STATE DEPARTMENT

MOSCOW, OCT. 30

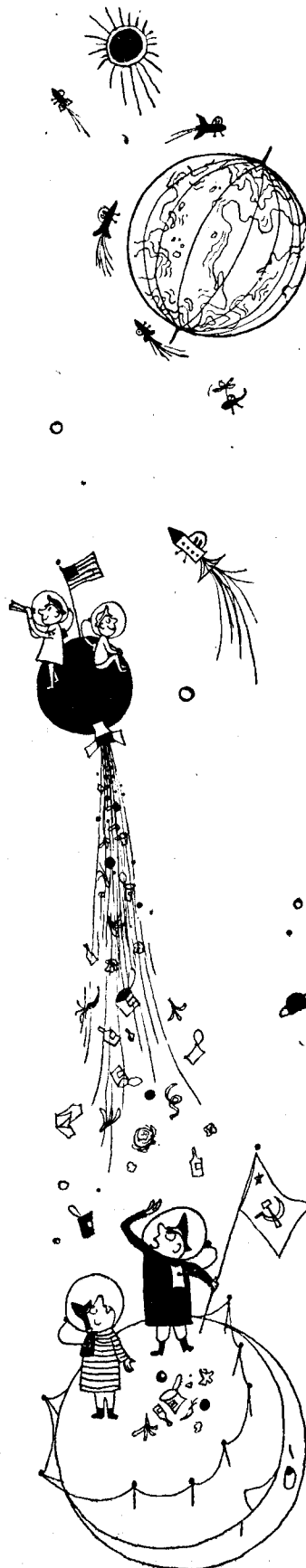
STATE DEPARTMENT, USA

TRANSMITTED YOUR MESSAGE TO LISHVINSKY AND WAS ASSURED USSR GOVERNMENT UNDERSTANDS. RADIO MOSCOW NOW ON AIR SAYS US HAS CONCEDED THAT IT WAS AT FAULT AND INCIDENT CLOSED.

AMBASSADOR

Washington, D. C., Oct. 30

The President today issued his Thanksgiving Day proclamation.



DRAWING BY GINNIE HOFFMAN

LABOR KEEPS LEFT IN FRANCE

*Even their enemies concede that the Reds know
how to hold the affections of French workers
better than anyone else*

by Ogier Preteceille

PARIS

JUDGED BY dues-paying membership, organized labor in France is twice as strong as its counterpart in the US. France's population is about one-fourth America's; her labor-union membership is about one-half America's. At the twenty-seventh convention of the powerful Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT) last October, Secretary-Treasurer Lucien Jayat announced that since 1946 the ranks of the organization had swelled by 476,000, to a total of 4,986,000. Between one and two million more members are in the Force Ouvrière (FO), which broke away from the CGT in December, 1947, in the Christian Unions (CFTC) and the General Confederation of Civil Service Workers (CGC).

All four of the organizations, especially the CGT, have both a horizontal (geographical) and vertical (industrial) structure. The basic unit is what in the US would be called the local in each industrial union, but these locals (*sections syndicales*) are designated not by numbers but by the names of the localities or of the plants whose workers they organize.

Locally, all the different trades, affiliated through their respective Federations (international unions) to the same national center, constitute, for the CGT, the Bourse du Travail, and for the CFTC and the FO, the Union Locale. They are further associated in the trade councils of their respective regional divisions. On the vertical plane, each local union is affiliated to its particular national federation of industry (corresponding to the international union in US labor terminology).

This is the second of two articles on the French labor situation. The final article in this series, by Jack Winocour, will discuss Communism and the British labor movement.

The basic principle underlying CGT organizational methods is one of broad autonomy for member unions within the framework of decisions taken by the national convention which meets every two years. It is therefore a federalized, rather than a centralized, organization, and resembles the CIO in many ways. Industrial and regional units each elect one delegate to form the National Committee, the governing body between conventions whose 140 members meet every six months. In turn the committee elects the two permanent executive organs: the Administrative Commission, a 40-man board picked from labor leaders in the Paris region; and the Executive Bureau.

Economic problems, working conditions, living standards, the relation of wages to prices, production methods or standing claims are as freely and widely discussed in CGT unions, from local or factory groups to the National Committee, as in corresponding unions in the CIO or any other organization. Meetings are held regularly and votes normally taken. There is a half-century of tradition to that effect which would be hard to eradicate.

Since 1936, it has been CGT practice that members of the Executive Bureau should represent the different shades of opinion in the French labor movement as nearly as possible in the proportion shown by convention or National Committee votes. For this reason, two co-General Secretaries were appointed: Léon Jouhaux then representing the right-wingers, and Benoît Frachon the left. After the December, 1917, split, this tradition was maintained and, to replace Jouhaux and the four other right-wing secretaries who had resigned with him to form the Force Ouvrière, five non-Communists

were elected to the same influential posts.

Number-one CGT helmsman is indisputably husky, tough, metal worker Benoît Frachon. Now in his late forties, Frachon is a forceful, intelligent labor leader of the modern type. He is also a Communist of long standing. With other men who now sit with him on the Executive Bureau, he organized and led French labor from the underground against Nazi occupation forces during the dark years of the war.

His co-General Secretary Alain Le Leap, who replaced Jouhaux, had been secretary of the Civil Servants' Union since prewar days—an organization with a long tradition of moderate reformist policies. Le Leap has no political affiliation and represents the traditional, non-party, "syndicalist" side of French labor. Another non-Communist, Secretary-Treasurer Lucien Jayat, 50, is a unionist of the non-political school. His record of straightforwardness made him the choice of all French labor groups, including the Christian Unions, when he was elected chairman of the all-union committee entrusted with reorganizing German labor unions after the war.

The CGT's top expert on economics and technical matters is Secretary Pierre Le Brun, another non-Communist. He is a capable young electrical engineer who left a brilliant career in private industry to put his knowledge of technical and economic subjects and his experience among leading industrialists at the service of the working class. A close technical adviser of Jouhaux since 1932, he got into trouble with his employers—the powerful Schneider combine—for his union activities on the eve of World War II. He played a leading role in the Resistance as a representative, in the National Front coalition, of the Radical-Socialist (Democrat) Party. Later he left that party with other progressives like Pierre Cot.

Gaston Monmousseau, the grand old man of the CGT, is a 70-year-old typical French worker, with a mane of white hair and a flowing white mustache, blue eyes sparkling with irony

and cheeks like red apples. For many years chief editor of the labor weekly, *La Vie Ouvrière*, and of the monthly *Servir la France*, Monmousseau writes in a witty, Voltairean style and is extremely popular among the toiling masses. He took to Communism after the First World War.

Henri Raynaud, in charge of social security; tough Eugène Henaff of the Paris Trades Council; Racamond, the solid type of organizer; and young André Tollet are Communists. But Edouard Ehni, head of the Printers' Union, is a "pure syndicalist" in the anarchist tradition. Marie Couette, the only woman Secretary, a postal worker, is also a non-party unionist.

Since the Liberation, the CGT has played a leading part in the reconstruction of France. Its leaders have not only restrained growing discontent among the undernourished and poorly clad workers, but helped boost production against tremendous odds and under the most difficult conditions. Coal miners strove hard, with inadequate means, to reach their prewar level of output. Rail workers repaired tracks and rebuilt blasted bridges in record time.

Until 1947 there was no industrial dispute of any importance, although wages stayed low while the cost of living increased by leaps and bounds, reducing still further the living standards of the average working family. The CGT loaned its best technicians to Jean Monnet's brain trust to help him draft his famous plan, a blueprint for a new, reconstructed, better-equipped, industrial France that was to send her at a good pace along the road to economic recovery, independence and prosperity.

But in the spring of 1947, attacks began against the CGT because a majority of its leaders were Communists. In May, Socialist Premier Paul Ramadier dropped the Communist ministers from his cabinet because they opposed the majority view that wages should remain frozen "to avoid inflation."

Late in October, the CGT reminded Ramadier of his promise, made in July, to convene a joint management-

labor-government conference to undertake a general survey of the wage-price situation. Prices had continued to rise under government control, although the workers had increased their output. Profits swelled along with prices. The CGT demanded that the government fulfill its pledge to grant a general wage boost.

The cabinet split on this issue and a political crisis developed. In order to prevent the Catholic MRP from taking the helm of government, the Socialists backed the unions' claims to some extent. A blanket rise of 11 percent was granted to civil servants and other state employees, but the overall survey and settlement of the wage-price problem was again postponed.

On November 12, the CGT National Committee ruled that workers in all industries be asked to decide what steps should be taken. This decision was taken by a majority vote of 88 percent. The 12-percent minority, mainly Socialist delegates, voted against an immediate strike poll. They urged that all action be postponed, and advocated waiting for the Socialist ministers to make good on their promise of future price cuts.

The response to the CGT call was a stampede. Prices had gone up steadily since August, 1943, when the purchasing power of wage earners had managed to reach 70 percent of the prewar level. Now hard-working families simply couldn't make ends meet. Unionists and non-unionists alike clamored for immediate strike action, and refused to wait for a disciplined, well-timed work stoppage. Men and women walked off their jobs by the thousands.

By then Ramadier had resigned and been replaced by a coalition cabinet led by Catholic (MRP) Robert Schuman, Radical (Democrat) René Mayer and Socialist Jules Moch. This new team rejected the unions' demand for a guaranteed purchasing power through a sliding wage scale. Before long more than three million people were on strike throughout France, mostly in the larger cities and industrial centers.

The right-wing group in the CGT organized a "fraction," clustered around its weekly organ, *Force Ouvrière*, and called for "a return to free trade unionism, liberated from the yoke of political [Communist] domination." Nominally the FO group was led by veteran Léon Jouhaux. In fact, the campaign was inspired by younger men: Robert Bothereau and Albert Bouzanquet, whose opposition to Communist leadership in the CGT was becoming more and more aggressive. They now openly opposed the CGT wage-price policy which they had supported three months earlier.

In late September, Jouhaux went as an official French delegate to the United Nations meetings in the US, where he took part in a private conference of CIO and AFL leaders on American aid to Europe. On his return to Paris he attended a conference, called by the FO, of all labor groups hostile to Communist leadership. A group in close touch with the AFL's European representative, Irving Brown, advocated an immediate break with the CGT and the formation of a rival national center of "free unions." Practically alone, Jouhaux argued that it would be folly to leave the CGT. A resolution he proposed was carried: the conference decided "to pursue the fight for trade-union independence from political parties," but to remain within the ranks of the CGT.

In November, with the strike wave spreading, members of the CGT Bureau who belonged to the FO group issued statements urging the strikers to return to work. Apparently this was done at the request of Socialist Party leadership and Socialist ministers in the cabinet. The situation became tense. Then, on December 19, before the regular meeting of the CGT Executive Bureau, Jouhaux and his four colleagues—Bothereau, Bouzanquet, Georges Delamarre and Pierre Neumeyer—handed in their resignations. They changed the *Force Ouvrière* into a separate national center.

The structure given to the FO by its leaders was an exact replica of the

CGT except that a post of president was created, as in British and American labor unions, to meet the wishes of Jouhaux, who had refused to become General Secretary. Negotiations were undertaken to incorporate "autonomous" (unaffiliated) unions. In regard to international affiliation, Jouhaux wished to retain his former post as vice-president of the WFTU by applying for FO membership in the World Federation. Bouzanquet, on the contrary, advocated opposition to the WFTU and the formation of a new "anti-Red" international body on the lines often prescribed by Irving Brown. At a press conference, Bouzanquet asked that the British TUC and the American CIO withdraw from the WFTU to join in a "non-political" organization.

Bothereau, General Secretary, and Bouzanquet, Secretary-Treasurer, said that "near to one million" active members followed them out of the CGT into the FO. More impartial observers said the FO membership figure was closer to 500,000. Recently, the membership seems to be declining.

The oldest of the dissident labor organizations, the Federation of Christian Labor Unions (CFTC), was formed 30 years ago, absorbing the Christian Union of Trade and Industrial Employees, established in 1888. Its constitution and rules declare that its action "is based on the principles of Christian social morals." Of relatively little importance in its early years, the CFTC gained strength during the Second World War.

In November, 1940, its three leaders, Gaston Tessier, Maurice Bouladoux and the late J. Zirnheld signed jointly with Louis Saillant and other CGT leaders a manifesto setting down the principles of free labor unions and the common tasks which French workers "of all creeds" ought to undertake. Contacts between CGT and CFTC groups continued underground. In July, 1944, the CGT Executive and the Resistance Committee of Christian Unions signed a joint appeal to the French workers, calling on them to stop all war production for the Germans

and to hamper the transport of their equipment, troops and supplies. A second joint appeal, early in August, gave the signal for the general strike and the rising against Nazi invaders.

Attempts were made after the Liberation to extend coöperation to the field of common union activity, but the CFTC at its national convention in September, 1945, rejected CGT proposals for unity. The reasons were: (a) Christian unionism was opposed to everything which tends to disrupt family ties, to the principle of equal pay for equal work, and against married women working outside their homes; (b) Christian unions favored private property although they opposed monopoly capitalism; (c) Christian unionism held that social and economic change would boomerang against the working class unless it implied a spiritual and moral transformation.

Under the influence of the Christian Democratic Party (MRP), CFTC chiefs followed the political pattern of the coalition government and established a joint economic committee with FO and CGC leaders. Nevertheless, the rank and file of the CFTC has drifted toward the Left. On September 24, 1948, both CGT and CFTC affiliates staged a token two-hour general strike, as a protest against the government's refusal to narrow the ever widening gap between prices and wages.

The CFTC claims 3,700 unions, grouped in 37 national federations, with a total membership of about 750,000. These are mainly recruited among bank and office employees; to a lesser degree among textile workers and miners in the North and the Loire districts.

The president of CFTC, Gaston Tessier, is also president of the International Federation of Christian Unions (CISC). The General Secretary is Maurice Bouladoux, a calm and energetic young man. One of the five secretaries is a young woman, Simone Troignes.

The last of the dissident organizations, the Confédération Générale des

Cadres (CGC), enlists only "cadres," that is, salaried people "performing functions which involve command, responsibility and initiative." It aims to organize technicians, engineers, managers, officials, foremen and superintendents in industrial or commercial enterprises and in government offices and public services. The CGT, FO and CFTC also have their own Syndicats des Cadres, but the CGC is much nearer to the employers' viewpoint.

The CGC was established as such only after the Liberation, in January of 1945. The war and the German occupation divided the French middle class much more than the working class. While the overwhelming majority of labor stood solidly for the Allied cause, a number of executives and technical managers in industry and trade fell for the "discipline" of the Hitlerite Labor Front, for Pétain's authoritarian regime and "Labor Charter." A smaller group, on the contrary, took an active part in the Resistance. This was particularly true of railway engineers and workers in electrical-power production, transport and distribution.

The CGC claims a total membership of 125,000. Fewer than half belong to the higher "cadres." The rest are managerial agents, a term vague enough to include foremen and heads of departments as well as secretaries, office workers, clerks and anyone working, even in a minor capacity, directly under the management of an enterprise.

The president of the CGC, Jacques Ducros, is a mining engineer and higher executive of the powerful Peñarroya Mining Company, a French concern exploiting coal and lead mines and pyrites in Spain. His young and active nephew, M. Deparis, is administrative secretary. The secretary general, Yves Fournis, an electro-mechanical engineer, is a brother-in-law of Pierre Henry Teitgen, the MRP leader. Unlike the other labor groups, the CGC maintains fairly close relations with the French Employers' Federation, the Confédération Nationale du Patronat Français (CNPF), the French

equivalent of the NAM. Although the original program of the CGC was rather ambitious and definitely left of center, its leaders now put stress on a plan for fiscal reform.

Theoretically, every one of the labor federations claims complete independence from all political parties. In fact, strong ties exist between each group and a corresponding political line-up. In the CGT, Communist influence is undoubtedly strong, partly because some of the leaders as well as rank-and-file members belong to the Communist Party. Another reason is that all the other political parties have used anti-Communism as an excuse for failing to satisfy the legitimate desires and needs of organized labor.

The ties between the FO and the Socialist Party are very close. FO leaders supported wage claims in July, 1947, when Socialist leadership also supported them for reasons of political strategy; later they opposed them, along with the Socialist Party and for the same reasons. The Socialist Party tried in late November, 1948, to tighten still further its political ties with the FO by proposing an official coalition with the FO, the CFTC and the CGC, plus the political parties with which these are more or less officially associated. After the CFTC called the plan "a political intrigue to strengthen the fast-ebbing Socialist Party," it was "unanimously rejected" on November 24, 1948.

No official relations exist between the CFTC and the MRP, but they have identical aims. The men who now lead the MRP as a political party were in the past active organizers of the Christian unions. One of them is former Premier and ex-Foreign Secretary Georges Bidault. Former leaders of CFTC unions, such as Marcel Poimboeuf, secretary of the Employees' Union, and Joseph Dumas, secretary of the CFTC itself, are now in the National Assembly as MRP representatives.

The political ties of the CGC are to the *Rassemblement des Gauches* (Rally of the Left), which designates a rather loose political grouping, defi-

nately right-of-center. In it can be found the old Radical-Socialist (Democrat) Party side by side with a medley of moderate liberals and a fairly large proportion of mild Gaullists.

A "Third Force" coalition, parallel to that existing in the cabinet and Parliament, was built up on the labor side in late May, 1948, among the CFTC, the FO and the CGC. It was called "*cartel de la baisse*" (cartel for lower prices). Against the CGT claims that wages must be raised to a level adjusted to the actual cost of living with a minimum wage based on current prices and a sliding scale to guarantee purchasing power, the newly established cartel advocated government-engineered and controlled price cuts, which could justify the wage-freezing policy. But it failed to bring about the lower prices for which its name stands.

On November 23, 1948, the anti-CGT cartel officially renounced its "price-slashing" slogan and demanded that the government fix a minimum wage at approximately the figure already arrived at by CGT experts—14,674 francs a month against the CGT's 15,000 francs. CFTC leaders called for a complete change of economic policy "if the working masses were to be held back from a stampede into CGT unions." CFTC experts were the first to accept the principle of a sliding scale for wages, long advocated by the CGT, and also the first to renounce state intervention in fixing both prices and wages, and to accept a return to free collective bargaining between the employers and the unions.

On November 24, 1948, CFTC President Gaston Tessier declared: "We can no longer approve the government's policy, which continues to demand from the working masses alone the heavier share of sacrifices deemed necessary for the recovery of French economy." On the same day, Léon Jouhaux issued on behalf of the FO an official statement very similar in essence to that of his CFTC colleague, adding: "The government can no longer compel the working class to shoulder the heaviest burden under

the pretext of safeguarding our national economy."

At CGC headquarters, Gaston Thouillot said that "the situation has become quite unfair. Some privileged people, even in the liberal professions, have fully recovered their pre-war standard of living, and the farmers have greatly increased their prewar purchasing power, while the average wage earner's lot has deteriorated to an unbearable extent."

We are now able to return to the question: "Why do the Communists succeed in maintaining their hold and influence on the main body of French organized labor?"

Communist influence and leadership are due in the first place to the prestige gained during the Resistance, when Communists were active, daring and disciplined in leading guerrilla warfare and organizing sabotage that seriously dislocated the German transport system and war machine in France. A second factor has been the undeviating Communist policy of fighting to raise the workers' standard of living at a time when other parties either denied the wage earner's plight or gave him nothing but promises. A third factor is the reward the Communists have reaped from the errors, misjudgments and failures of their opponents.

The influence of Communist leadership in the CGT can also be explained by a comment made by the anti-Communist columnist Maurice Duverger in the conservative, outspokenly anti-Communist *Le Monde* (December 21, 1948):

The strength of the adversaries of the [Third Force] regime is mainly due to the weakness of its supporters. How could we reproach the working class for remaining, in its overwhelming mass, solidly grouped behind Communist leaders, however visible their long-range policy?

Who else truly supports the workers' cause, outside the Communist Party? Who else maintains the closest contact with the working class, understands its way of thinking, shares its hopes, defends its interests and its honor? No one but the Communists, except maybe a few among the younger leaders in the CFTC or the FO.

THE RUHR ARSENAL: GERMAN OR EUROPEAN?

HOW TO USE the Ruhr, that indispensable factor in European reconstruction, without giving Germany the power of new aggression? The London conference was unable to solve the question. After seven weeks of secret negotiations, representatives of the US, Britain, France and the Benelux countries were able to decide only to make permanent their nations' control over management of the Ruhr enterprises and distribution of its coal, coke and steel. This is to be done through an International Authority which is to continue after the end of the Allied occupation of Germany.

The agreement was accepted with reservations by the French, who pointed out that it decided the principle of Ruhr control without taking up the question of management and ownership. Nothing was done to nullify Ordinance Number 75 promulgated on November 10, 1948, by General Lucius D. Clay and Sir Brian Robertson. Hence, the French assert, the unpleasant fact remains that management of the gigantic Ruhr enterprise is to be entrusted to eleven German trustees working under Allied control, and the question of ownership of this industrial conglomeration is to be decided by a "future freely elected German government."

The French recognize that the lengthening of the period of control is a concession to their point of view, but they question whether the present type of control could be carried out in the same manner in a free as in an occupied Germany. Representatives of a German government on the Ruhr Authority would look for a base of support in the local population and in the workers, engineers and directors. To what extent could a small group of foreigners enforce their viewpoint on such a mass?

The Ruhr occupies a decisive role for Europe as a whole. Next to Great Britain, Germany is Europe's first great producer and exporter of coal; and before the war, the Ruhr turned out two-thirds of Germany's coal. Further-

by **Nicolas Clarion**

more, the exceptional richness of this region in coking coal has given a powerful stimulus to the development of its metallurgical industry.

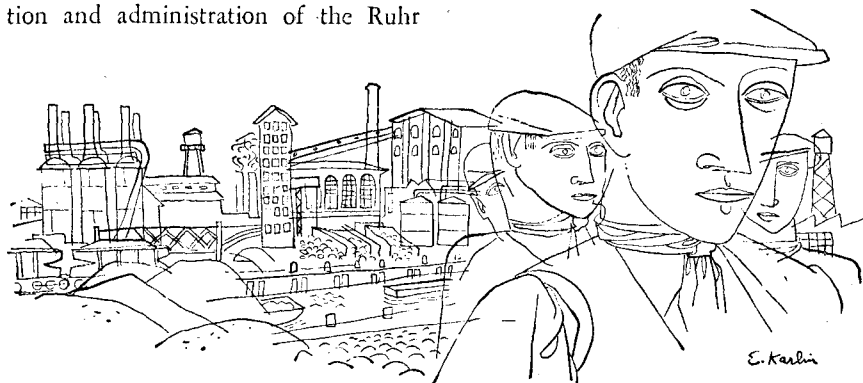
The 1943 bombardments struck heavy blows at this industry (Essen, Düsseldorf, Bochum and Dortmund were seriously damaged). Production still suffers greatly from the damage. Moreover, a steady and regular increase in both coal and steel production has been prevented by such factors as the wiping out of a layer of miners and workers of the highly productive 25 to 40-year-old levels; the endemic food crisis; the price rise and the subsequent depreciation of the new D-Mark; the disruption of all former relations between city and countryside; the general problem of factory destruction, lack of homes and wearing out of machinery. Nevertheless, coal production is now 350,000 tons daily as compared with 400,000 tons in 1936; steel production is at a rate of seven million tons annually compared with the 10.5 million tons authorized by the Allies, and the 16 million tons produced in 1938.

British and US officials in Germany have declared that changes introduced by Ordinance 75 "are of only secondary importance." They explain that until now, the mines have been under Anglo-American sequestration (the metal industry solely under the British), and that during the past few months a certain number of men who once held high positions in the direction and administration of the Ruhr

mines and industries have returned to their posts. So, the Anglo-Americans say, "the naming of trustees simply means that the Germans will henceforth take over a greater share in management of the mines and steel works."

In reality, things are far from being quite so simple. It is certain that these "trustees," in view of their origin, will be amenable to "suggestions" coming from their former masters, the so-called "Ruhr barons." Furthermore, complete reorganization is now under way in the Ruhr. The creation is foreseen of joint-stock companies, with stocks to be held by the trustees on behalf of the ultimate owners (to be designated by the future German government). In addition, the old vertical structure of the Ruhr enterprises is to be reconstituted; that is to say, the steel mills are again being given the upper hand over the coal mines so as to permit them to "meet international competition on the world market." Here is what the Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times* wrote on November 17:

There are strong indications that the steel production in Western Germany will end up in the hands of approximately eleven companies. Under the British operation, the former giant combines have been broken up too much. Each of the combines has had its coal holdings made into coal companies, and its steel holdings confined solely to steel mills. To live in the competitive economy of the world, a plant needs more than just machines to produce. It needs a certain amount of guaranteed coal and ore deliveries at a price it can deter-



mine. Therefore a certain amount of such vertical integration must be allowed to the mills. The present plan will accomplish this objective.

Ruhr industrial concentration had been highly advanced before such concentration reached its highest level in the rest of Germany. The Rhine and Westphalia Coaling Syndicate (Rheinisch Westfälisches Kohlen Syndicat) and the iron and steel cartel of the Ruhr (Die Eisen und Stahlwerks Gemeinschaft), which replaced the old Ruhr cartel of 1924 (Die Rohstahlgemeinschaft), dominated Ruhr output.

Nobody has posed the question of reestablishing the "rights" of the Ruhr magnates, but it seems hardly likely that this reorganization, modeled on preceding cartels and combines systems, could eliminate their influence.

Men in the confidence of the former owners—if not these owners themselves—are already making their appearance in the German economy. Last summer, the German Economic Council named two men on an Anglo-American commission of inquiry into Ruhr steel production. These men were Hermann Reusch, managing director of one of the six great German-Ruhr steel trusts (Gutehoffnungshütte A. G.), and Heinrich Kost, director of the Rhein-Preussen firm. Moreover, on the steel cartel functioning under Allied control are Alfred Hugenberg, Ernest Poensgen and Heinrich Dinkelbach, all well-known for their ties with the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, most powerful of the Ruhr steel trusts. Berthold von Bohlen and Halbach Krupp have returned to their properties in the Ruhr to "take the family interests into their hands." Other men prominent in the Economic Council, the real bizonal legislative organ, are Herman Abs, director of the Deutsche Bank, the largest German bank for colonization of agricultural countries, and Robert Pferdmenges, a former Nazi and a confidant of Schroeder and Company, etc.

The fact that the right of deciding future ownership of the Ruhr has been promised to a future German state has recently been commented on

by the Washington correspondent of *Le Monde*, a leading French paper:

The American steel mills have reached their full productive capacity. It is certain that this production is insufficient to satisfy the country's normal needs, American rearmament and European reconstruction. No doubt it would not be difficult for the steel industry, which amassed considerable profits during the war, to make new investments. But an increase in production, according to the thinking of the industry's directors, would lead to a rather rapid saturation of the market. . . . This is why maintenance of the present levels of production and supplying of Europe by means of steel fabricated on the spot seem to suit them better.

Taking this into account, would it be vain to think that eventual participation in German industries—whose production, besides, is paid for in dollars—to a certain degree might supply the motive for their return to German directorship before a future Reich government "disposes" of their ownership?

The Soviet Union tries to profit from the Ruhr situation by assuming the role of arbiter. Since the 1945 Potsdam Conference, Russia has been saying that she wants "the authorization of an international commission to administer the Ruhr for the benefit of all of Europe, the Soviet Union and Germany included." What has happened in Eastern Germany shows that this amounts to a Russian demand for the right of control over the Ruhr. Russia pressed for the detachment of the Upper Silesian mining and metallurgical basin, and then the region was annexed by Poland. The Upper Silesian basin has become one of the foundations of the "Molotov Plan" with respect to the reconstruction of the Eastern countries.

Soviet projects for the Ruhr's "internationalization" are even less valid. The Communist Parties, which Russia controls, are playing ambiguous and unscrupulous roles in the Ruhr issue. While the French Communists assert that the Americans and British "prevent France from receiving reparations which are due her," and that France must not be "eliminated from the Ruhr," the German Communists at the same time lead a campaign

under the slogan, "The Ruhr is, and must remain, German." Russia has, step by step, taken action that belies her proposals for the internationalization of the Ruhr; and Russian diplomacy and propaganda emphasize the new slogan of "German unification."

It is evident that Ruhr production must, in the interest of Europe as a whole, be pushed to a maximum. Europe cannot revive except by using all its productive forces. Even the French National Assembly recognized and accepted this fact once again at the end of the recent general debate on the subject.

The British and US conception is positive in so far as it aims at creating an independent Germany, capable of participating as a free country in the West's reconstruction. However, German freedom must not be confused with the misuse of such freedom by the former Ruhr "barons" or by their straw men. It must not be forgotten that these same people and their Reichswehr first flirted with Russia before their transformation into quartermasters for the Nazis.

Whatever relationship may exist among the Great Powers, it is more than likely that Germany's possibility of disposing of the Ruhr enterprises by herself will introduce a new political factor of first importance in Europe. The new rulers of the Ruhr could probably then establish new contacts with former cadres of Hitler's Wehrmacht such as ex-Marshal von Paulus, now in Russia's service. This perspective, which today seems incredible, could become tomorrow's reality precisely because Germany, due to her strength, is the land of surprising reversals.

If, without German production, the Marshall Plan could not validly pose the question of Western European revival, it is equally true that no solid framework can ever be constructed in this part of Europe if the French are treated like poor relations, if their economy is permitted to deteriorate further, and if the tendency of France toward an isolation as fatal for her as for the other European countries is looked upon with indifference.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

WAR AND PEACE AND THE WILL OF GOD

"ILYA, MY BOY, pass me the cutlets!"

It was a fast day, one of the two days a week on which the Orthodox faithful were supposed to abstain from meat. The shaggy, bearded giant wasn't giving in to an irrepressible hankering for meat. Indeed, some years later he became a vegetarian. But he devoured two cutlets that day. It was Leo Tol-

THE LAW OF LOVE AND THE LAW OF VIOLENCE, by Leo Tolstoy. Translated from the French by Mary Koutouzow Tolstoy (Rudolph Field; \$3, distributed by Gaer Associates).

stoy's way of announcing to his family, gathered at lunch, that he was finished with the dogma and ritual of organized religion.

Shortly afterward, he was announcing it to the world in his writings—*My Confession*, *On Life*, *The Kingdom of God Is Within Us* and *What I Believe*. The tracts continued to flow through the last 30 of his 82 years, as he learned Hebrew and read the Scriptures in the original because he was suspicious of the adaptations churchmen supplied for the consumption of the common man.

In *The Law of Love and the Law of Violence*, written in 1908, two years before his death, Tolstoy packed into little more than 100 pages a summation of his earlier religious writings—"what I have wanted to say to my brothers before dying." It was never published in Russia. To elude the vigilance of church and state, which he was undermining, a number of Tolstoy's tracts were printed by a clandestine press. This one, translated from manuscript into French by I. D. Halperine-Kaminsky, was published in France in 1910, and it comes to us now in a translation from the French by Mary Koutousow Tolstoy (the widow of Count Alexander Tolstoy, a cousin of Count Leo).

The law of violence, according to

by Ed McCarthy

Tolstoy, postulated "that man's mission here below is to employ the short period between his birth and death in making speeches before legislative assemblies, in judging his brothers in courts, in capturing them, in locking them up and assassinating them, or throwing bombs at them, in taking away their property; or to bother as to whether Finland, India, Poland, Korea are annexed to what is called Russia, England, Prussia or Japan; or to seek to liberate these annexed countries by force and to be prepared to kill each other in quantities for that purpose."

Opposed to this was his law of love, the Commandment: Love God and thy neighbor as thyself. This was the simple working mechanism of his faith, uncomplicated by dogma and ritual. To find it, he had had to go back to the early Christians, back before the fifth century, when, as he points out, Constantine's Roman legions, Christians all, betrayed the peaceful teachings of Christ by raising the cross as a standard under which to kill and conquer.

Tolstoy's law banned all killing—by individuals, by armies and by agents of the law—as a solution to an ethical problem as well as in the commission of a crime.

"Let us suppose," he wrote, "that a brigand is raising his knife over his victim; I see him and am armed with a revolver; I can kill him. But I am not absolutely certain what the brigand will do. He might not strike, while I would surely kill him."

In this situation, Tolstoy, who had fought as a divisional commander at Sevastopol, Tolstoy, who had been a great hunter, could not pull the trigger.

Curiously, it was fear of killing himself that set Tolstoy off on his religious tack. He was in his fifties. He had a strong body and a strong mind.

He was a nobleman in a feudal land and didn't have to worry where the next kopeck was coming from. *War and Peace* was already a success. But when he finished *Anna Karenina*, he was overcome with despair and "saw only one thing—Death. Everything else was a lie."

"And here I was—a man, and a happy man—hiding the rope from myself, for fear lest I should hang myself from the beam between the wardrobes in my bedroom. . . . I gave up shooting and carrying my gun, in order not to allow myself to be tempted. . . . All that would remain of myself would be rotteness and worms. . . ."

But the worms were put off for 30 years. Instead of a suicide, Tolstoy became a Christian anarchist, and in the days before Gandhi the nearest thing to a "Second Coming" the world had ever seen.

Tolstoy the religious essayist is as direct and powerful as Tolstoy the novelist. He is not a mystic, beyond accepting the premise that there is a God. And his arguments for his law as a means for man to live happily among men are persuasive because they proceed from logic and pragmatism, not superstition and authority.

Many persons, reading this book, will look in it for a clue as to how Tolstoy would have stood on the issues of today. My own guess is that he still would be a lone voice, crying out in reproach to the East as to the West.

He would probably scold the Doukhobors, too, those religious cultists to whom he gave the proceeds from *Resurrection* so that they might escape persecution in Russia by migrating to Canada. When heard from last year, the Doukhobors in one of their perennial outbursts were running about the Dominion without clothes, burning down houses. They were their own

houses, to be sure, yet the behavior seemed more like the law of violence than the law of love.

Anyway, it is hard to image saintly old Tolstoy calling out: "Ilya, my boy, pass me the matches!"

Ed McCarthy has been a New York newspaperman for nearly 15 years. Until the newspaper ceased publication last month, he was editor of "Picture News," the Sunday supplement of the New York Star.

THE MAN WHO WAS HOLMES

THE LIFE OF SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE, by John Dickson Carr (Harper; \$3.50).

IN THE EARLY MONTHS of 1886, a portly young British doctor of Irish extraction sat in the study of his office-home at Southsea, England, trying to write a detective novel. Dr. Conan Doyle had already discovered that writing could be a valuable "milk cow" to supplement his scanty professional fees, he had had some success with short stories, and he was working spasmodically on a serious novel.

He was also intrigued by the memory of one of his instructors at Edinburgh University, a Dr. Joseph Bell, who, to impress upon his students the importance of using their brains in making a diagnosis, had drawn fascinating deductions about patients' backgrounds and occupations by observing them closely.

He borrowed the name of a colleague, Watson, for the narrator of his tale, changing the first name from James to John. But he had not yet found a name for his detective. He scribbled down "Sherrinford Holmes" and was dissatisfied. Then, suddenly and at random, he wrote "Sherlock Holmes."

"This time it had the click of an opening key. . . . At the top of his manuscript he put *A Study in Scarlet*. Writing between breakfast and supper, writing between peals of the doctor's bell and calls from Touie (his wife) upstairs, he had no idea that he was creating the most famous character in the English language."

It was a character that was to haunt him for the rest of his life. After the

moderate success of *A Study in Scarlet*, the public took Sherlock Holmes to its heart and demanded more and more of him. Conan Doyle, heartily sick of his creation and anxious to get on with "more important" writing, found that whatever price he put on a projected Holmes series, his publisher would meet it.

When he made his first, wildly successful lecture tour in America, he found the Holmes mania there as great as it was in England. When he stood for Parliament, hecklers in the crowd addressed him as "Mr. Sherlock Holmes." When he made an official visit to the battlefields in World War I, a French general inquired if Holmes were now in the British army. And still Conan Doyle protested secretly to his family and friends that he detested Holmes.

The joke is that he *was* Holmes—except in appearance, where he might have doubled for Dr. Watson. And he knew it all the time, whatever he said about Dr. Bell. In one of his earliest stories he allowed Holmes to speak for him in recommending a book; Holmes's sentiments and habits (aside from the cocaine, the violin and the fondness for firing revolvers indoors) were Conan Doyle's; and the three real-life mysteries which Conan Doyle investigated (all, it should be noted, worthy of Holmes at his sharpest) were solved in the best Sherlockian manner.

But Sherlock Holmes was not all of Conan Doyle. It would have taken an even more fabulous character to be that. And it has taken an inspired and enthusiastic biographer to get all of Conan Doyle on paper.

For Conan Doyle was a giant in more ways than size. He was a romantic believer in the code of chivalry in which his mother raised him, an ardent sportsman (who, incidentally, introduced skiing into Switzerland), a patriot in the best sense of the word, a lover of good company and good living, a devoted and thoroughly lovable friend, husband and father, a staunch defender of causes (among them home rule for Ireland, reform

of the divorce law, closer Anglo-American understanding, and improvement of conditions in the Belgian Congo), a remarkable amateur military strategist and tactician who foresaw the need for changing battle tactics and the menace of the submarine long before World War I, the inventor of inflatable rubber life boats, a doctor, and a prodigiously fluent writer who turned out a number of excellent and popular novels, tracts and plays as well as the detective stories for which he is chiefly remembered.

At the end of his life, he became a spiritualist and devoted all his money and energy to preaching spiritualism. His biographer, John Dickson Carr, not himself sympathetic to spiritualism, nevertheless makes Conan Doyle's sincerity and reasons for his belief clear and impressive.

In preparing this biography, Carr had the coöperation of the Conan Doyle family and access to all of Conan Doyle's papers—an incredible number since, like Holmes, he never destroyed a document. (There were 1,500 letters to his mother alone.)

"When Conan Doyle speaks," Carr writes, "he speaks in his own words out of letter, notebook, diary, authenticated press-cutting or letter about him. When the furniture of a room is described, or a scene takes place in a thunder storm . . . there is documentation. I have had little more to do than to edit and to arrange."

The last sentence is a masterpiece of modesty. Too much material can be as difficult to handle as too little. The pace of this book never falters, the interest never lags. It moves as entertainingly as a fast-paced novel, with exactly enough background given to explain such episodes as Conan Doyle's experiences in the Boer War; exactly enough comment and interpretation on the biographer's part. Not only Conan Doyle, his family and his friends (many of them famous literary characters like J. M. Barrie and H. G. Wells), but the whole period from the Victorian era through the Edwardian, the First World War and

the Jazz Age come to full-blooded life.

Like Conan Doyle, Carr seems to have some of the ability to ferret out the essential that he bestows on the detectives in his own mystery stories. *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* also gives further support to the often expressed theory that some of the best contemporary writing is being done by detective-story writers, like, for example, John Dickson Carr.

ANNE L. GOODMAN

SYMBOL AND POET

THE POETRY AND PROSE OF HEINRICH HEINE. Selected and edited, with an Introduction, by Frederic Ewen (The Citadel Press; \$6).

HEINRICH HEINE has been fought over ever since he began to write, and one of the oddest phases of the battle has been seen in our own time when Hitler's Germany sang his songs but carefully excised the author's name. Heine would not have been too surprised at this kind of treatment—in fact, he almost predicted it. Heine was one of the few "romantic" poets who would not have been too surprised at anything that has happened in the world since his death: his irony always stood guard over his idealism, and though he was, in the words of the epitaph he wrote for himself, "a good soldier in the wars of human liberation," he had no illusions about the perfectibility of man. There is none of Shelley's utopianism in Heine, nor is there anything of Goethe's aloof gravity. No poet has been more caught up amid the frailties of mankind, and none has been more bruised by the paradoxes of the modern world.

Heine is indeed a startlingly modern figure. German and Jew, patriot and Francophile, sentimentalist and ironist, radical and hater of the organized left, Christian convert and passionate defender of Israel, charlatan and martyr, lyrical poet and journalist, lover of life and perpetual self-torturer—his haunting figure looms out of the mists of social and ideological conflict in early nineteenth-century Europe to appear as the epitome of all the problems that face sensitive man today.

We watch him emerging from the ancient background of Rhineland Jewry into the relative sunlight of Napoleon's empire and thence into the gloom of Metternich's reaction, finding an unstable base of operations in a refugee-filled Paris full of ideological orts and fragments of the French Revolution. We follow his literary career from the self-pitying lyrics of his early poetry through the great singing poems of his second volume and the extraordinary combination of journalism, poetry and social criticism in *Die Harzreise*, on through the bitter wisdom of his later prose writing to the almost Byronic satire of *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* and the final riches of *Romancero*. As we follow this extraordinary career we are struck by its symbolic quality, by the fact that Heine is figuring forth all the predicaments and ambivalences of the modern cultured European. No wonder he has become a symbol, a figure around whom conflicts have continually raged. The trouble is that in the symbol we tend to forget the poet. Frederic Ewen has provided a most timely reminder that Heine is more than a case history of the Jew in the modern world.

His volume is a generous and well-chosen selection from Heine's poetry and prose: almost everything is here that we should most wish to have, including all the twenty-seven sections of *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen* in an effective new translation by Aaron Kramer, and the complete fragment of that remarkable prose piece, "Der Rabbi von Bacharach." In addition to this full selection of his prose and poetry, we have numerous letters and even his will (a most illuminating document). As far as I know, there is nothing else like this available in one volume.

On the whole, German poetry is easier to translate into English than, say, French or Italian. In spite of the radical difference in structure between the two languages, the way they handle rhyme and meter is similar, and the total effect can be indicated in translation without completely recasting the

poem. But it is not easy to translate Heine. The peculiar mixture of folk idiom and sophistication, of high romance with a conversational tone, tends to be either flat or pretentious in English. The translations in this volume are by a variety of writers—by Louis Untermeyer, Humbert Wolfe, Emma Lazarus and others, and there are many new translations by Aaron Kramer. Some of these are happier than others—it is impossible to single out any one translator as consistently better or worse—but all show on occasion an inability to cope with this prime difficulty. For example:

The Son of Night stood black before me

is not at all the same in its effect as

Es kam der finstre Sohn der Nacht
and still less effective is

The house he brought me to was bright

for

Er bracht mich in ein helles Haus.

There is so often a suggestion of beating about the bush, or of unnecessary sophistication, in the English rendering, while Heine's concern to end the line in the significant phrase is too often ignored in the effort to get the same general thought into the same metrical line. There is exactly the same problem in rendering such a line as

Ferne in ein kühles Grab

by

In some cool and kindly grave

which sounds like George Herbert—a poet as far removed from Heine as one poet can be from another. Sometimes the attempt to convey Heine's romantic feeling while ignoring the devices he uses to modify it by conversational or ironic tones is disastrous, as in rendering the last line of his sonnet to his mother,

Das schöne Herz, das mich so sehr geliebet

as

Your beautiful, big heart that loved me so.

(We cannot help thinking of "You

great, big, beautiful doll.") There is a curious precision, a balance, in the most romantic of Heine's utterances that is very difficult to carry over into English without loss. No one has ever been able to translate "*Die Grenadiere*" into really good English poetry, though Kramer makes an excellent attempt.

The translation is most difficult when the original seems to be simplest (as in "*Im wunderschönen Monat Mai*," where, for example, "When birds were merry-making" loses the fine folk feeling of the more straightforward "*Als alle Vögel sprangen*"). The more heavily weighted poems are easier to do, and that is why, as a rule, the translations of the later poetry are the more successful.

Kramer's rendering into English of the great revolutionary poem, "*Die schlesischen Weber*," is remarkably successful, except for one line in the final stanza, where "Old Germany, your shroud's on our loom" has a lightness and rapidity that is quite the reverse of the feeling in "*Altd Deutschland, wir weben dein Leichentuch*." (It is interesting to set Heine's finest poem of social protest beside the English "Song of the Shirt," on the one hand, and some of the "Songs of a Silesian Miner" by the Czech poet, Petr Bezruc, on the other: Heine comes off easily the best, though Bezruc's "*Ostrava*" is very similar in tone and almost as successful.)

Frederic Ewen's introduction is written with eloquence and passion, though his attempt to define the Romantic Movement in economic terms is not entirely happy and leads him to make a few howlers, such as citing Burns as an example of English bourgeois romanticism. But all in all this is a most valuable collection of Heine's work and can be warmly recommended to all those who deplore what Hitler did to "*Die Loreley*" without knowing what Heine had to say for himself.

DAVID DAICHES

David Daiches is professor of English and chairman of the Division of Literature at Cornell University. His latest book is *A Study of Literature*.

NOVELISTS WHO COUNT

THE GREAT TRADITION, by F. R. Leavis (George W. Stewart, Inc.; \$4.50).

THE TITLE of Dr. Leavis' book makes the claim that there is a tradition in the English novel. He traces a continuity from Jane Austen, through George Eliot, Henry James and Conrad, to D. H. Lawrence. "Great" because these are the "major novelists who count . . . in the sense that they not only change the possibilities of art for practitioners and readers, but they are significant in terms of the human awareness they promote; awareness of the possibilities of life." This last term is amplified in turn by the following:

"They are all distinguished by a vital capacity for experience, a kind of reverent openness before life, and a marked moral intensity." And to these qualities, Dr. Leavis instances, as the criterion of their stature, "the achievement in work addressed to the adult mind, and capable as such of engaging again and again its full critical attention." It can be seen that by these standards (and I think it would be foolish to disagree with them) the reputations of many "classical" novelists need some severe readjustment.

The tradition itself, the actual line of continuity, receives secondary attention in this book. We know that George Eliot learned much from Jane Austen. James again and again expressed his indebtedness to the former, as did Conrad to James. And in Lawrence, rather than Joyce, Dr. Leavis sees the figure through whom the novel will continue (if at all) to develop. It is difficult to specify ways in which an original genius learns from his predecessors, although even in this sense Dr. Leavis suggests a persuasive parallel in *Daniel Deronda* and *The Portrait of a Lady*, adding, however: that James's "thought of himself as attempting a variation on George Eliot's theme, seems to me very unlikely." Further, the stature of the writers is a claim which, having been made, can be safely left to the novels to argue for themselves.

The emphasis Dr. Leavis makes is

rather on a more exact assessment of a writer's value and a discrimination among his individual works. (Actually, only Eliot, James and Conrad are treated extensively.) Of the first, he claims that her "greatness is of a different kind from that she has been generally credited with," and in revaluating her work, he takes exception to the traditional deprecation of excessive intellectuality in her novels. "It is precisely because she cares for the 'reason' of things that she can render the aspect so vividly; her intelligence informs her perception and her visual imagination."

This kind of revaluation necessarily implies restrictive criticism. To Dr. Leavis' mind, in the later development of Henry James "something certainly did go wrong." One valid objection, and admirably stated (apropos of the character of Milly Theale), is to "this inveterate indirectness of the later James, this aim of presenting, of leaving presented, the essential thing by working around and behind so that it shapes itself in the space left amidst a context of hints and apprehensions." He suggests as a partial explanation for this development James's "quest of an ideal society, an ideal civilization. And English society, he had to recognize as he lived into it, could not after all offer him any approximation to his ideal. Still less, he knew, could America. So we find him developing into something like a paradoxical kind of recluse, a recluse living socially in the midst of society." For Dr. Leavis, James's masterpieces are *The Portrait of a Lady* and *The Bostonians* ("They seem to me the two most brilliant novels in the language"), and it is remarkable how exactly, as a British critic, he appreciates the Americanism of the latter novel.

He best qualifies Conrad's genius when he points to the "adjectival insistence upon inexpressible and incomprehensible mystery . . . applied to the evocation of human profundities and spiritual horrors; to magnifying a thrilled sense of the unspeakable potentialities of the human soul." It is worth adding in this con-

nection, "He is intent on making a virtue out of not knowing what he means." Central as they are to Conrad's talent, it should be understood without saying that these criticisms apply only locally and are a part of an exact but high estimate.

It has been possible here to mention only a few points in a book wide

in range and at the same time refreshingly specific. Therefore, lest something less than justice be done, it must be said that not only does the book provide a corrective to "the inertia of conventional valuating" of the novelists considered, but it is one of the very few first-rate works on the art of fiction.

JOHN FARRELLY

ON THE AIR: Conscience as a Guide

ON NBC's weekly documentary, "Living: 1949," Fred Allen asserted the other Sunday that radio humor is at its lowest ebb. The air's comedians, he said, are at the mercy of a weekly routine that insists they be funny on time and at the rate of 75 yaks per script. They are debased artists, surviving on the brains of their writers. Who am I to take issue with the considered judgment of so consummate a troupier?

That "Living" program (Sundays, 4:35 p.m.) continues to be a good documentary. Its writing, by Lou Hazzam, is usually a fine, straightforward job without frills or pretensions. Under Wade Arnold's supervision, the show avoids the flamboyance that so often characterizes documentaries which try to cover a lack of content with aural fireworks. Ben Grauer's narration always lends authority to the content. You may not agree with the program's viewpoint at all times, but its credibility and restraint are impressive. And it is the only network documentary honored by a regular weekly time-slot. Even CBS, the first network to stage documentaries, hasn't gone that far.

Radio builds its audiences on regularity. The big production put on every two or three months, sometimes at one hour, sometimes at another, gets a catch-as-catch-can audience no matter how good it is. There was an excellent "one-shot" on CBS recently, a half-hour program celebrating Negro History Week. It was "The Story of Phyllis Wheatley," a Negro slave of the Revolutionary era who attained

considerable fame as a poet. Shirley Graham wrote a sensitive, compassionate script. Admirable understatement by Muriel Smith, who played the heroine, and the generally high level of Albert Ward's direction, made the half-hour a fine tribute to the poet and her people. But though praiseworthy in itself, a program tossed thus without continuity into the radio flood has the awkward flavor of conscious "tolerance." "The Eternal Light," put on weekly by NBC, recognizes the legitimate interests of a large segment of the listening public. The well-intentioned CBS one-shot inevitably had about it the air of a pious crumb.

It seems to me that some network, perhaps CBS, should set an example for the others by scheduling a regular time each week—at a peak hour like Tuesday night at nine—for so-called "public service" programs on a year-around basis. They could be given an over-all title flexible enough to cover many good ideas. The program might be given over to Negro history for as often and as long as was deemed necessary for full treatment, then shift to another theme. It would always be a showcase for the network's genuine interest in reflecting those facets of our life which are not covered fully, or at all, by other dramatic programs. As the broadcaster's "feature page," it would operate in a fixed position and with the listener's convenience in mind. No newspaper publisher confuses his readers by constantly shifting his feature page.

The program would have to be given a big enough budget to permit the quality that characterizes "The Eternal Light." There is a program on WPIX, the New York *Daily News* television station, which has a regular slot, Sundays at 6:05. It is called "Television Chapel," and different religions are featured from week to week. The one the other night showed a Jewish service and was so amateurishly produced that it couldn't have held the attention of anybody but relatives of the volunteer cast or people who get paid for keeping their sets on.

There is a big, new, full-hour, television program showing now on two networks simultaneously. Twenty-four stations in 16 cities—the biggest commercial video hook-up yet—carry "Broadway Revue" Fridays at eight, over NBC and DuMont. The opening was staged with the pomp of a coronation. The stars included, among various other notables, the current Broadway favorites Sid Caesar, Mary McCarty and Imogene Coca, but what should have been colossal, turned out a bit disheartening.

"Broadway Revue" appeared on the television screen as just that—a musical put on for Broadway. When the camera moved to a close-up of Sid Caesar doing his magnificent mimicry, there was something for the customer to see, but long shots lost the cast on the big stage, and medium shots were frustrating. One camera was placed so that even the most beautiful of actresses looked misshapen. The acting, singing and dancing were probably good—the audience inside the theatre seemed to be having a wonderful time—and those few features that were clear on the television set came through as satisfactory entertainment.

But the technicians had forgotten about the people out beyond the theatre where the program originated. Even the microphones were badly placed. The show was staged, at great expense, for television's million set-owners. It appeared as an intimate clambake.

SAUL CARSON

MUSIC: Tibbett's Anniversary

AT THE END of the season's first performance of Benjamin Britten's "Peter Grimes," the members of the cast and many of his other colleagues in the company gathered on the stage to pay tribute to Lawrence Tibbett, who completed his twenty-fifth consecutive season at the Metropolitan Opera last spring, and is now well into his twenty-sixth. Among those offering congratulations were Edward Johnson, who joined the company a year earlier than Tibbett and retired from the stage in 1935 to become its general manager; and Louis D'Angelo, veteran singer of minor baritone parts, who was Tibbett's only senior in point of continuous service at the time of his retirement, in 1946, after 29 years.

Silver anniversaries are frequent in less exacting professions than that of the operatic singer. At the Metropolitan, few singers have lasted a quarter-century, for it takes several years to get ready for a career in a major opera house, and not many voices stand up indefinitely under the strain of the glorified shouting most opera roles demand. Antonio Scotti, the unforgettable Scarpia in "Tosca," remained at the Metropolitan for 34 years. Léon Rothier, the French bass, matched D'Angelo's 29-year record. Nobody else at all has sung there as long as Tibbett, in the 66-year history of the house. Adamo Didur, the Russian bass who was the Metropolitan's first Boris Godunov, rounded out a 25-year span. The present runners-up are Lauritz Melchior, who arrived two years after Tibbett and skipped one season along the way; and the secondary baritone, George Cehanovsky, who is now in his twenty-third successive year.

Tibbett's operatic career has not been merely long; it has been long and distinguished. When he made his debut, on November 24, 1923, in the little part of Lovitzky in "Boris

Godunov," few Americans—despite the special success of Nordica, Eames, Farrar and Ponselle—were accepted on anything resembling equal terms with the famous Italian and Central European artists who constituted most of the personnel. In Tibbett's own baritone department, the best assignments were reserved mainly for three superb Italian singers—Giuseppe De Luca, Giuseppe Danise, and Scotti. Nobody expected a young Californian, who had never studied in Europe, to offer competition to such traditionally routinized and highly skillful performers. But Tibbett was destined to become, within a decade or so, their equal in popularity and in the regard of critics.

In the constant retelling, Tibbett's history has been turned into too much of a Hollywood success story. He did not become a top-flight celebrity overnight. It was not until his thirteenth season that he was permitted to sing the title role of Rigoletto, one of the staples of every baritone's repertory. He sang his first Iago in his fifteenth season and his first Scarpia in his sixteenth.

A great piece of luck did, however, speed his progress in his second season, and lift him out of the category of secondary artists. On January 2, 1925, a little more than a year after his debut, he sang the role of Ford in Verdi's "Falstaff." Although Ford is the second baritone part in the opera, Verdi wrote for it a big monologue, in which, after his colloquy with Falstaff at the Garter Inn, he inveighs against the institution of marriage.

In this solo, for the first time, Tibbett had material that enabled him to demonstrate the combination of virile singing and forceful dramatic characterization that later distinguished all his work. Though Scotti was the designated star of the performance, Tibbett was singled out by the audi-

BOOKS

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BY

ROGER PAYNE, B.A., LL.B.

AND

GEORGE W. HARTMANN, Ph.D.

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ence for an ovation that lasted a quarter of an hour.

In those days the Metropolitan management was not willing, as it often is nowadays, to rush young singers into parts for which they are not ready. It was Tibbett's good fortune to be allowed to grow slowly, gradually uncovering more and more of his particular talent, which has always been that of the singing-actor rather than the pure vocalist. He has, of course, always sung exceedingly well—until recent years, when throat trouble has bothered him—but his basic instinct is quite as much a theatrical as a musical one.

His ability, none too common among opera singers, to create three-dimensional characters and his American background conspired to make him a logical choice for key parts in five Metropolitan productions of American operas. Deems Taylor's "The King's Henchman" and "Peter Ibbetson," Louis Gruenberg's "The Emperor Jones," Howard Hanson's "Merry Mount," and Richard Hageman's "Caponisacchi" owed a considerable share of whatever success they had to Tibbett's persuasive efforts. (Nobody could save the one-act number called "In the Pasha's Garden.") Not only did he provide interesting characterizations, but his English diction was completely intelligible.

Last year Tibbett's season at the Metropolitan declined to the irreducible minimum of a single appearance. This winter he is singing much more easily, and his dramatic projection has regained the strength it seemed for a time to have lost. In addition to Captain Balstrode in "Peter Grimes," his forty-fourth role, he has already sung Rigoletto excellently twice, and he is scheduled for further roles in "Falstaff" and "Pelléas et Mélisande." His return to his familiar artistic level is as good a piece of news as any the operatic year has brought. For more than any other individual artist, he opened the way for the younger American singers who now constitute 60 percent of the Metropolitan's roster.

CECIL SMITH

THEATRE: Footlight Chat No. II

SOON, SOON there will be interesting new plays to see and talk about. In the meantime, the City Center offers a revival of the Rodgers-Hammerstein "Carousel" at a \$3 top. It is a good buy. "Carousel" is a well-made musical of pleasant complexion. It affects me like a sugared and slightly synthetic wafer. I am certainly not its best audience, since songs that go "This was a real nice clam bake" fail to melt me. . . . "Forward the Heart," by Bernard Reines (at the Forty-eighth Street), attempts a new slant on the race problem (a blind young war veteran falls in love with a Negro girl). A recent tradition demands that such plays, when they are not good, be given their quietus gently by calling them "honest." . . . The most worthwhile offering in several weeks was a dramatization of Melville's "Billy Budd" by Louis Coxé and R. H. Chapman, creditably done by the (ANTA) Experimental Theatre's invitational series under the title "Uniform of Flesh."

Last week's chat suggested that the theatre is not a lamp by which a text may be read. The theatre, under favorable circumstances, is a creative art. To be properly understood, the theatre's parts—the dramatic scheme, words, acting, setting, music, etc.—must be viewed as a whole. As we sometimes isolate one element of a painting—composition, drawing, color, subject—as its most telling feature, so in the theatre we may regard one phase of a show—the spoken text, the acting, the general pattern of stage movement—as a production's most significant aspect. However, it is always necessary to remember that whatever we may say of the color in a painting or the plot of a play, we perceive the picture and the production as a whole. To regard the theatre as merely interpretive is to misunderstand and ultimately to destroy it. When Chaliapin entered the coro-

nation scene of "Boris Godunov," the libretto informed us that he was a Czar and a guilty man. Before a word was uttered, we felt that this Czar was something more than a murderous king. He was a tragic figure, whose sin had a depth that exceeded the individual case. His was the guilt of Holy Russia in all her barbarously majestic splendor, religious conscience, superstition and power. Here was the very presence of something that could hold us in awe as if we were ourselves oppressed and worshipping moujiks. A queer sense of epic grandeur was created as surely as in one of the great Muscovite cathedrals of the sixteenth century. Moussorgsky's score was not only made flesh; it was transcended.

You might say that this miracle was wrought by such details as the wonderful costume, but it was the way that Chaliapin wore his costume that made it seem the spirit as well as the fabric of a world of tortuous magnificence. (I have seen other actors in the same role wear the same costume with only illustrative effect.) How Chaliapin made his Boris what it was is part of the technique of acting, part of that mystery of "personality" which is at the core of all art. My point here is that an appreciation of the opera's music or words would be insufficient to explain or even to recognize the quality of Chaliapin's Boris. Something was made of these elements through the body and soul of the actor that was new and not to be truly grasped by a separate analysis of each element.

What is true of an actor like Chaliapin is true of a director like Reinhardt. Reinhardt worked with first-rate actors like Rudolph Schildkraut, Albert Basserman, Alexander Moissi, Werner Kraus, as well as with plays by Shakespeare and other giants. But though these actors were marvelously projected through Reinhardt's direction without the forfeit of their par-

ticular contributions, and though the plays were given fascinating illumination, the whole of Reinhardt's creation was marked by that feeling of opulently sensuous rococo characteristic of the cultivated Middle European bourgeoisie between 1895 and 1914.

A knowledge of the texts employed by actors and directors is of course vital to the comprehension of what is being created by theatre artists, but one need not think of these texts entirely in terms of their literary excellence in order to evaluate what one sees on the stage. For example, I no longer recall the lines in the Dunning-Abbott melodrama "Broadway," but my memory of the tawdry innocence, shimmer and tension of the speakeasy twenties is still vivid in the atmosphere, images, tempo that were typical of the Jed Harris production. When I saw Charles MacArthur's revival of "The Front Page" two seasons ago, it had lost all the scalawag and brass-knuckle humor that it had originally been given. A play like "Edward, My

Son," if it were to be taken at all seriously, would read like a trashy "social" melodrama, but as played by Robert Morley it is a kind of mischievously cute parlor entertainment. To suppose that Morley conveys any of the play's literal meaning is not only to be blind to acting but even to the merits of Morley's performance itself.

This leads to the conclusion implicit in my premise: that acting and direction possess a content in themselves—that is, they possess it when actors and directors are artists. Appreciation of the theatre bespeaks the audience's capacity to sense the content of what is seen on the stage; the critic's job is to define it. Once we have established that the content of a theatre production is not necessarily the equivalent of what the literary critic may find in the play's written text, we are ready to proceed to a further examination of the interrelation among acting, directing and other elements of theatre art.

HAROLD CLURMAN

MOVIES: The Bookie Always Wins

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE is the first working philosopher to set his doctrine to ragtime and whistle it through the streets. No "on the meaning of" treatises for this most versatile of metaphysicians—he makes existentialism pay him royalties. And there's nothing so wrong about that if the truths you espouse lend themselves to animation. It might be a doubtful exploit to adapt *The Critique of Pure Reason* for the screen, but the jaunty pessimism of the existentialists translates admirably into cinemese. Sartre's first picture, "The Chips Are Down," is excellent tomfoolery.

To put the plot in a nutshell (which is very likely where Sartre found it), a man and woman who were destined for each other are murdered before their paths have a chance to cross. Since this is a slip-up by the cosmic

authorities, they are permitted to "go back" and live out a full life together—provided that for a period of 24 hours they can maintain a love of "perfect confidence." That, of course, proves to be impossible. She was the wife of a high-ranking fascist in Ruritania; he was a revolutionary worker, leader of a group pledged to overthrow the dictatorship. The unfinished business of their old lives impresses them back into service and when the hours are up, the game is too. Despite superior information, they cannot change the destinies of the living (they do alter the life of one small girl, but that looks like a dropped stitch in Sartre's neat fabric) and they must return to the drifting existence of the dead with all their frustrations still upon them.

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life, and those choices are irrevocable. Or to put it another way, what's done is done and you live only once. The nice thing about existentialism is that everyone can play.

I cannot find anything very startling, philosophically, in the croupier's old cry: "*Les jeux sont faits. Rien ne va plus*," nor is it precisely a novel dramatic conceit to show the shades hobnobbing with the living. But it is a notion that permits a wide leeway for slightly bitter whimsy and Sartre does not miss his opportunities. The "business" of this picture is delightful.

The leads of "The Chips Are Down" are played by Marcel Pagliero and Micheline Presle. He was better in "Open City"; she is better in the forthcoming "Devil in the Flesh." Sartre's little brain machine is so very artificial that it makes marionettes of his actors. However, they play out the game with style and with the seriousness proper to good children. It would be hard not to enjoy "The Chips Are Down."

Walt Disney, in "So Dear to My Heart," successfully combines cartoons with allegedly live actors by the ingenious device of making the flesh-and-blood participants as improbable as the ink sprites. The film is a sugar-coated nightmare from the childhood of the well-known book reviewer, Sterling North, "acted" by Bobby Driscoll, Burl Ives and Beulah Bondi. The plot concerns a pet black lamb and the stock show at the Pike County fair, couched in terms of the stickiest Christian virtue. It is addressed to the grade-school audience, which probably will lap up the poisonous stuff.

Jack Benny, a grade-C violinist, makes his debut as a Hollywood producer with "The Lucky Stiff," a grade-B whodunit. The original story was by Craig Rice, an able mystifier, but as it drags across the screen it only goes to show that corpses get boring if kept around too long. Dorothy Lamour, Brian Donlevy, Claire Trevor. . . "He Walked by Night" from Eagle-Lion,

on the other hand, is a good murder entertainment, partly because it is made in the "semi-documentary" technique, partly because Richard Basehart is a smart and scary killer. The story, said to be based on a real Los Angeles case, is laid on and under the streets of that city, and makes the back of your neck crawl.

ROBERT HATCH

BANDWAGON

Otherwise, Nothing

Attorney General Eugene Cook said: "We have no law dealing with segregation except in the school system, transportation, marriage and such. . . ." — *From the AP story on the Ku Klux Klan's opposition to the Brooklyn Dodgers' playing exhibition games against an all-white Atlanta team.*

He Should of Stood in Bed

Samuel S. Cohen, former boxer, contends that a reference to him as "Canvasback Cohen" by Groucho Marx in a January 12 radio show was an invasion of his right of privacy and worth \$100,000 in damages. — *AP dispatch from Hollywood.*

Brotherhood of Man

If poor land won't pay for seed, labor, fertilizer, machinery, plant it to soil-conserving crops, or rent it. — *From the Farm Journal.*

Justification Enough

Disputing belief that advertising is merely a "money-maker," Mr. Willard added: "Advertising has made millions of capitalists in America, and when a man is a capitalist, he isn't going to be a Communist." — *From Broadcasting.*

Poor Little Rich Boy

In honor of his 13th birthday, Jimmie Kellogg was the guest of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Kellogg of Bel-Air, for a week at the Palm Springs Biltmore. — *From the Los Angeles Daily News.*

Our readers are invited to contribute, \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. — The Editors

CORRESPONDENCE

Carson and the Air Lift

SIR: When Saul Carson publishes a piece in the *New Republic* [January 24] which purports to be a review of a radio program called "The Berlin Story," but which instead is nothing more than a snide, inaccurate, and preposterously ill-founded attack upon Robert Saudek, the producer of that program, the undersigned subscriber not only claims fraud, but urges that an editorial retraction be made.

In my capacity at the American Broadcasting Company, I have been associated with Robert Saudek for almost five years. I have worked closely with him in the production of the network's major documentary programs, and many other "public interest" features, during that period. And I am in a position to state . . . categorically:

First, the implication in Mr. Carson's sentences: "But for the obscure network sub-executive who had picked the right people, the day was bright. Bob Saudek was made . . ." is wholly inaccurate and unfair. Nobody has worked on these programs harder, or provided greater leadership, or supplied more useful and unusual ideas, or recognized more generously the talents and contributions of others, than Bob Saudek. And if Saudek was "made," by virtue of having produced one program which Mr. Carson deems outstanding, then Franklin Roosevelt was "made" by having once been elected to the New York legislature.

Second, the insinuation that Saudek's decision to do the major part of the writing on "The Berlin Story" was in some way improper, or constituted "hogging the act," is entirely misleading and unfair. Saudek, after all, made the trip to Berlin. It was upon Saudek's notes and observations that the show was based. It was altogether logical and understandable that Saudek, a former radio writer himself, should write the main body of the script. And the fact that others within the organization contributed minor shares of the writing could properly be construed as "bailing out" Saudek only if Saudek had taken a writing credit on the air, or in publicity releases. . . .

Third, the "awkward egotism" with which Mr. Carson claims Saudek has "discredited the radio documentary," is pure Carsonian invention. Bob Saudek's outstanding record at ABC for intelligent, progressive, and frequently precedent-shattering public interest pro-

gramming should be answer enough. . . .

Mr. Carson, whom I know and have considered an able and searching critic, is of course entitled to dislike "The Berlin Story." . . . I feel that he is *not* entitled to castigate a conscientious, honest, and talented producer, gratuitously and for reasons which conceivably lie beyond the scope of the program under attack, in the name of criticism.

JOHN COBURN TURNER
Manager of Script and
Program Promotion,

American Broadcasting Company
New York City

SIR: Read your man Carson's review of "Berlin Story" and was encouraged by sharpness in his critique of this one-sided, war-slanted radio piece.

New York City

JIM HOWARD

SIR: Unless I miss my guess, Carson will bring wrath on his head from the war-thumpers, and as a vet, I for one want to be counted on *New Republic's* side when it lashes out as Carson did.

New York City

ELI JAFFE

SIR: I must protest your treatment of the radio program "The Berlin Story." You were much too kind and generous to a blatant piece of amateurish propaganda. I have worked in radio for nine years, have been head of the editorial department of the domestic radio bureau OWI, have received a Variety Award for Showmanship in handling of propaganda for the State Department and I think I should know a thing or two about propaganda. . . .

As for the production and writing, it reminded me of the infant days of radio documentaries when we used banging cymbals and the zoom of planes to make statements when our words were inadequate. . . .

New York City

JOSEPH LISS

SIR: Any magazine that gives space to rebuttal against a broadcast so obviously one-sided in conception and execution as the ABC "Berlin Story" deserves the support of a grateful public. . . .

New York City

NORMAN OBER

SIR: Let me especially commend you on your latest review on the ABC broadcast of "The Berlin Story." . . .

I hope you will keep pitching for us, the listening millions.

Los Angeles Calif.

A. S. ROSENTHAL

SIR: I'm glad to see reviewers refuse to stand awe-struck before certain so-called public service programs, and call a spade a spade. The show was a stinker.

New York City

NORMAN ROSTEN

MOTION PICTURE

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